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MUNSHI

AT SEVENTY-FIVE

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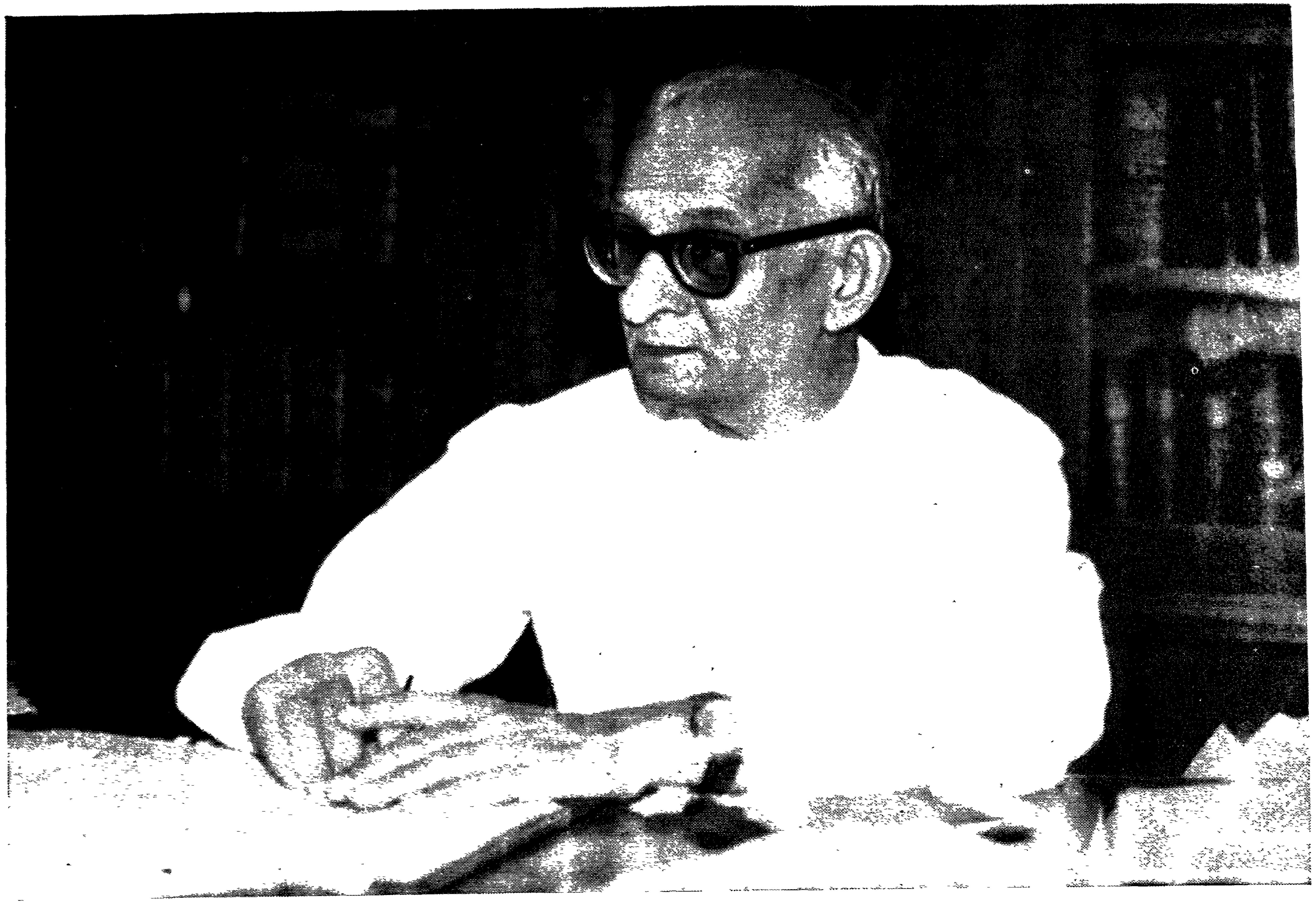

Munshi at seventy-five

MUNSHI
AT SEVENTY-FIVE

Volume of articles on
the various facets of Dr. K. M. Munshi
by his contemporaries

Foreword by

DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD

Dr. K. M. Munshi's
76th Birthday Celebrations Committee

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December 30, 1962

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NEVER GROW OLD

YOUTH IS NOT A TIME OF LIFE. It's a state of mind. It's a test of the will, a quality of imagination, a vigour of emotions, a predominance of courage over timidity, of the appetite for adventure over love of ease.

NOBODY GROWS OLD by merely living a number of years. People grow old only by deserting their ideals. Years wrinkle the skin, but to give up enthusiasm, wrinkles the soul. Worry, doubt, self-distrust, fear and despair..........these are the quick equivalents of the long, long years that bow the head and turn growing spirit back to dust.

WHETHER 70 or 16, there is in every being's heart, the love of wonder, the sweet amazement of the stars, and the starlike things and thoughts, the undaunted challenge of events, unfailing childlike appetite for "What Next?"

YOU ARE AS YOUNG AS YOUR FAITH, as old as your doubt, as young as your self-confidence, as old as your fear, as young as your hope, as old as your despair. So long as your heart receives messages of beauty, cheer, courage, grandeur and power from the earth, from man and from the infinite, so long are you young.

WHEN ALL THE WIRES ARE DOWN, and all the central places of your heart are covered with snows of pessimism and the ice of cynicism then, and only then, are you grown old indeed, and may God have mercy on your soul.

—ANON

Sri Munshi's contributions to our public life have been manifold. He was a valiant fighter for freedom; he was a Minister in the Bombay State; he was our representative at Hyderabad during difficult times; he was a member of the Central Cabinet; he was Governor of Uttar Pradesh; he is a great lawyer; but, the most important service he has rendered to our country is the establishment of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. It is the greatest monument to his life, and I have no doubt it will make his name remembered in this country for many, many decades.

—Dr. S. Radhakrishnan,
President of India

PREFACE

Munshiji is 75. During a half-century of active life he has been labouring continuously in the cause of national regeneration in several spheres. The causes that he has espoused, the movements that he has started and the institutions that he has built up, all bear evidence of the spiritual roots from which have sprung his patriotic fervour, dynamic energy and his crusader's sense of mission.

With his astute intellect and untiring industry, Munshiji achieved early in his career a comfortable affluence which, freeing him from worldly cares, helped his untrammelled vision to take shape in his creations.

Whatever position he occupied in the public life of his country, official or other, his thoughts have travelled beyond the humdrum details of the present to a future which he intended to be both conserving and creative in forms that he envisaged. And, Munshiji has been a 'part of all that he has met.'

The articles in this book written by a representative cross-section of Munshiji's contemporaries deals with several phases of his multi-faced life. While serving as a measure of the appreciation that his work has evoked in the men of his generation, they will also present to future generations that follow a picture of a man who has spent the best part of his life and the resources of his mind and of his means to the realisation of his dreams.

The Dr. K. M. Munshi's 76th Birthday Celebrations Committee offers to him this bouquet and couples its felicitations with prayers to the Almighty that Munshiji may see many more birthdays in health and strength to serve his motherland in ways that he has made his own.

It is gratifying that the eminent gentlemen who were requested to contribute the articles which follow readily agreed to do so. The Committee is deeply grateful to them all in helping to produce this Birthday Gift.

BOMBAY,
December 30, 1962.

SHANTILAL H. SHAH

FOREWORD

I send my warmest congratulations and best wishes to Sri K. M. Munshi.

We all know Sri Munshi's many-sided activities and close interest in connection with a variety of institutions having different aims and objects. It is difficult to assess the value of his work in the various fields in which he is interested without going into details of the various institutions which are on the whole being run successfully and creditably.

If I were to give my evaluation of Sri Munshi's work, personally I would say that I bow to him for his versatility. But he is more. He is a live wire and whatever he touches or undertakes he puts new life into it and makes it a living institution. Whether it be as a publicist and public worker or as an educationist and organizer and runner of educational institutions or as a social reformer or as a worker in the social field, everywhere we can see not only the imprint of his personality and versatility of his genius but also the sign of the live wire that he is, giving life to everything that he touches.

I bow to him in admiration.

With affectionate regards

Rajendra Prasad

Sadakat Ashram
Patna
December 17, 1962.

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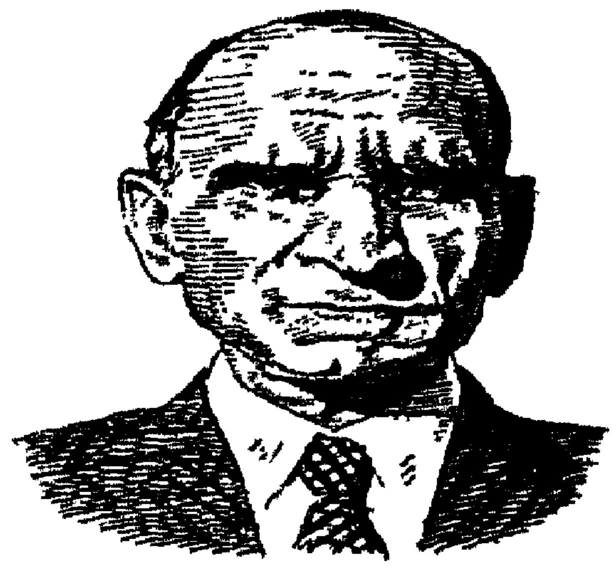

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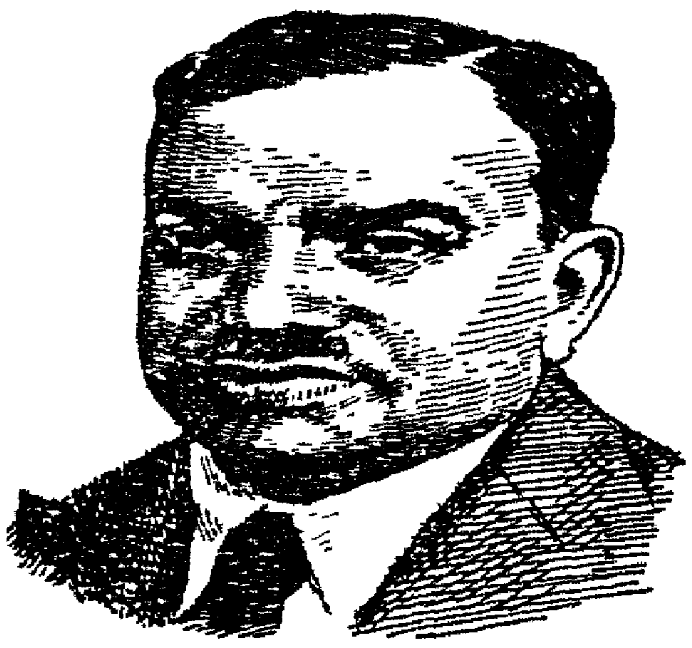

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GOD BLESS HIM

C. Rajagopalachari

Sri Munshi's Seventy-fifth birthday reminds us of his wonderful, unique, dynamic personality and of his services in the cause of Indian culture, Indian freedom, and good administration. His great contribution to Gujarati literature has received the highest recognition. His success in organizing institutions for the promotion of good education is too well-known for any one to seek to dwell on it with superfluous praise. He has been a most affectionate and tolerant friend to me personally. God bless him and give him yet many more years for serving the motherland.

MANY-SIDED MUNSHI

P. Sankaranarayanan

"I am an odd mixture of an idealist and a realist," said Munshi of himself in one of his letters to Smt. Lilavati. This sums up what Munshi has been all through his life. Indeed, he has been a rare blend of scholar and politician, author and administrator, lawyer and prisoner, Governor and rebel, Minister and mendicant, dreamer and builder. In modern India, there are few such persons who have reconciled apparently conflicting factors, few who have synthesised the diversities, contradictions and complexities of life, yet achieved worthwhile results in every field. Although rooted in the ageless heritage of India, he has not permitted himself to be chained to it wherever it has ceased to be relevant in the context of a changing climate. In the same manner, his realistic acceptance of the posture of the present has not clipped the wings of his imagination in respect of a future which is to be the fulfilment of a great renaissance. Thus, the past, the present and the future are the triple strands of Munshi's thought and life, motivated as he has ever been to conserve the eternal truths inherited from the past, to adjust them to the demands of the present and weave out of both a fabric which would be an apparel of utility for the body and adornment to the soul.

Munshi has never been content to live a life of dreary drabness. His attitude to things has been neither one of mere indifference nor one of inept inevitability. His is a free-born spirit which would not take things as they are. A self-made man in the most literal sense of that expression, he has practised a vigorous dynamism in the shaping of his life. His tireless energy and his determination not to accept defeat, vitalised by an abiding faith in God, have been responsible for the many noble institutions fashioned in the flaming forge of his active life by his crusading hammer.

The pulsations of Munshi's life were of the romantic. But that romanticism was not of the capering or the wayward type. It was never headstrong or turbulent. Munshi has been unconventional to a degree; but he is not an iconoclast. He is a traditionalist in a more

significant sense than are most others who go by that label. The classic element in him makes him to adore the personalities of India's epic past. But he is not content to be a *laudator temporis acti.* He is anxious to bring about a re-incarnation of those men in the generations of the future.

From his boyhood, Munshi has been a dreamer, not of impossible unrealities, but of things which his fertile idealism convinced him can and must be translated into reality. Creativity has been the magic *mantra* of his life and work. Many features of the present that he confronted underwent changes at his hands and were transformed into something better. To paraphrase what he said of himself, he is a combination of the classic and the romantic. But the one has not been hide-bound, nor the other fanciful. Munshi was never a visionary in the ordinary sense of the term, but he had a vision of a kind which not many others could be credited with. The romance in him was creative, not chaotic.

Rise to Affluence

By dint of his own perseverance, Munshi rose to affluence from penury which would have depressed a heart less stout than his. To him wealth was, however, only a means, not an end in itself. When he was complimented for sacrificing his lucrative practice at the bar in order to engage in national service, Munshi aroused laughter by remarking : 'I am clever enough to make money, but not foolish enough to go on doing it for ever.' He gathered wealth only to give away. And he had the uncanny power to induce a like spirit in the hearts of others whom fortune has favoured with riches. People were only too ready at a suggestion from him to loosen their purse-strings for causes to which he dedicated his own earnings.

The Intellectual

Munshi belongs to an aristocracy of intellect both by birth and by upbringing. Descended from the ancient Rishi Bhrigu, he took enormous pride in his ancestry, and continually strove to live up to its tradition. He has always been convinced that while the large mass of common men embody the collective unconscious of their race, it is

the intellectuals among them, those he calls 'the dominant minority' who are charged with the function of preserving, enriching and transmitting the central idea of the culture of the people.

A society in which an aristocracy of intellect and vision—called by whatever name—does not or is not allowed to function is doomed to hastening decay. Nay, more; it is the duty of society to keep such an aristocracy alive, give it the necessary scope and invest it with adequate power to influence the rest of that society. In all ages and in all countries, great movements of far-reaching import have originated from their fertile minds. Munshi belongs to such an intellectual aristocracy.

Two things which keep a man's intellect acute and alert are a wide range of reading and the habit of constant writing. From his boyhood Munshi cultivated both these habits till they became a hobby with him. It was fortunate that his mother accustomed him, through the songs that she sang and the stories that she used to narrate to him, to live with the Master-Spirits of old in his formative years. Vasishtha and Viswamitra, Parasurama and Vyasa took hold of his imagination and secured his allegiance. His English education brought him in contact with the outstanding writers in that language and from them he learnt to wield a pen of remarkable power and picturesqueness. His association with great personalities like Sri Aurobindo in the early years of his life gave a direction to his thought and writings which he pursued with vigour ever afterwards. Thus he combined in himself the features of the classical scholarship of the ancients of our land and of the liberal trends of modern literature. In this too, as in other things in him, Munshi was a blend of the old and the new, of fidelity and fertility. That saved him from the aberrations of many an intellectual; he was neither dogmatic nor sceptical.

Munshi has no patience with the New Literates of modern times who have a habit of thinking that the entire past belongs to the Dark Ages and they alone are the torch lights of the future. His is a synthetic mind which seeks to conserve whatsoever things are good, true and of noble import and to enrich them by the fruits of growing knowledge. He tried to fashion such creative minds charged with the task of the regeneration of the people.

The Loving Heart

It often happens that an intellectual is intolerant. This trait has been singularly absent in Munshi. His is an understanding mind. He does realise the possibility and the value of difference of opinion. But once he comes to a conclusion, he sticks to it passionately and carries it out with all the energy at his resource. He does have strong views on many matters, and others may not agree with him. But while he parts company with one in his ideas, there is no severing of hearts. In fact, his closest friends are among those who may not see eye to eye with him on many vital matters. He could be critical of Gandhiji; but he retained the Mahatma's love and affection and to him he has unbounded reverence. He may set the prairie on fire by his unorthodoxy; but yet he used to be looked upon with tender feelings of kinship by those whose sentiments he 'offended'. He parts company with the Congress and is unsparing in his criticism of its leaders; but no one doubts, not even the congressman, his transparent sincerity and intense patriotism. In fact, many wonder how he has been able to bring people of different tastes and persuasions, of diverse faiths and communities, of conflicting political parties and varied strata of society into the ambit of the manifold forms of creative activity that he has initiated. His *bonhomie* deportment and accommodating temper explain the universal friendship that he enjoys with everybody and the affectionate reverence that he evokes.

The Human Touch

An intellectual like him will not suffer fools gladly, nor would one of his integrity permit rogues to go unbooked. Munshi, however, has it in him to bear with fools and forbear with rogues. By contact with him the fool learns from his folly and the rogue gets chastened into a better man. No one whom Munshi has dowered with his patronage has been permitted to go back into the wilderness unless by his own wilfulness. Having come up the hard way, Munshi realises the pangs of poverty. His was a steep climb; but learning from that, he is eager to make it easy for others. He is known for his easy accessibility. The poor, the forlorn, those in distress can go to him without let or hindrance and he sheds on them the soothing balm of his *saulabhya.* Unmindful of his own personal inconvenience, he would go out to please those who are drawn to him by love and affection. None so small as

not to merit his attention or to be kept away from his presence. Thus like a banyan tree, the circle of his influence went on widening. His family relationship extended in such measure that it took under its beneficent shade everyone who came into close contact with him. One and all of them have remained a part of his large family of which he is deservedly styled 'the Kulapati'.

Rare Organiser

One chief reason for Munshi's success in the various forms of his constructive work has been his ability to choose a man for the job that he has in mind. He does this with such astuteness that in most cases, he has had no cause to regret his choice. But this is not all. Munshi knows to trust and to trust absolutely. Call it his good fortune; but rarely has that trust been belied. More; almost every one whom he has thus trusted has dedicated himself to Munshi with a phenomenal devotion and a supreme sense of service.

Lifetime Friendships

From the beginning Munshi has easily won the esteem, regard and affection of his compeers. The brilliance of his intellect, his forensic ability, the marks of his high statesmanship, his scholarly attainments and inclusive culture, and above all, his integrity and suavity of manner have endeared him to all people in such measure that everyone, including those opposed to him in politics, has co-operated heart and soul in the rearing of the institutions which have risen under his inspiration and by his efforts. And among these are friends of a lifetime who have been standing by Munshi in fair weather and foul.

Loving Partnership

The dynamism with which Munshi strove successfully to rise in his professional career was provided in the early years of his struggle by the 'dream-girl' of his boyhood days who later took shape in flesh and blood in the person of his second wife who answered to the romantic overtone, in the best sense of that expression, of the music of his life as his first wife responded to its classical undertone. What is important in the context of Munshi's life and achievements is that 'the undivided soul', as he called it, that knit them together was responsible for conceiving and executing the many projects of lasting bene-

ficence for the economic, social, educational and cultural betterment of our country. While his wife took upon herself certain spheres of activity for which, as a woman, she was eminently fitted and for which Munshi gave her entire freedom, husband and wife identified themselves with each other both in the struggle for freedom and in forms of national renaissance which they thought of and implemented with a remarkable sense of mission. Munshi has the good fortune, not given to many in high places, of a wife who not only keeps a loving home, but also supports him with understanding and with strength and fervour in all his manifold activities. He has acknowledged without reserve the inspiration, encouragement and loving assistance that he has always received from her in all that both of them planned and executed.

Faith in God

Above all, the sheet anchor of Munshi's life has been his faith in God. It is not as if he enjoyed fair weather all through the voyage of his life and that it was all smooth sailing. In a measure, he has been the child of fortune. Yet, not unoften, squalls and storms did shake his ship though they did not shatter its frame. He has had more than his share of tribulations in his private life and public activities. He had to struggle hard, very hard indeed in many spheres. His struggles were not merely external, but internal as well. He had to make decisions affecting himself, of a far-reaching and fateful character. But with a rare optimism which refused to be crushed even under the most acute difficulties, he never resigned himself in abject ineptitude to the odds that threatened to engulf him. This optimism was the child of his absolute faith in God which his mother had taught him in her home, which the epic stories had engraved in his mind, which the teachings of the Gita had made a real possession of his soul. Steadfastness in that faith had been burnt unto him by his reading and practice of yoga. Withdrawing his mind from dissipation and training it in methods of concentration, he learnt to offer his own endeavour at the altar of the grace of God, convinced all the time that he was but the instrument (*nimittamatram*) of Providence. That is why Munshi repeatedly affirms that the Bhavan is God's work. This has been conclusively proved by the many vicissitudes that the Bhavan had to go through. Why, the genesis of what later on developed into the Bhavan was a

miracle wrought by God through one whom Munshi speaks of as 'the Apologetic Angel'.

Through the course of Munshi's multipurpose secular life runs an undercurrent of devotion to Providence which is becoming more and more pronounced. As advancing age cooled down the romantic fever of his youth and early manhood, the teaching of the Gita which has been his daily companion, has had a sobering effect on his forms of thought and ways of life, and provided an unfailing background of whatever he says or does. Munshi has been a votary of his family Gods with a passion that found its culmination in the rehabilitation of the shrine of Somnath—an achievement of rare significance. The re-installation at the Bhavan's Campus in Andheri of the Linga of Mahadev which his ancestors used to worship at Broach, his native place, is the tribute that he paid to their piety and religious fervour and is an acknowledgment of his debt to them.

Renaissance Man

Munshi has been described as a 'renaissance man'. But renaissance is not resurrection. Nor is it violent reformation. To Munshi Indian culture in its thoughts and aspirations, utterances and activities is one unitary whole, a grand identity unfolding many differences which express it variously. It is in that way Munshi conceives of the culture of his people. 'One of the most wonderful phenomena in the history of the human race,' says he, 'is the tenacity and resilience with which India and her culture have persisted through the ages. Older than Egypt, much older than Greece and Rome, she lives on, her culture intact. Her message is as inspiring today as it was centuries ago. This heritage India owes to a series of great masters whom she produced age after age. They have given her fresh youth in every generation. They have given her message fresh inspiration with every new situation.'

It has been Munshi's mission to contribute in his own way to the vitality of Indian culture in its manifold facets, to 'give it fresh youth' in his generation. He qualified himself for this task and was aided by his native endowment. Descended from a hallowed rishi, he belonged to a family which was aristocratic without being arrogant, conservative but not constricted, proud but not snobbish. His home

had instilled into him the sense of the sacred which is a cardinal feature of any worthwhile culture.

By far the most sacred part of Indian culture is constituted by the Vedas. As a scion of the Bhrigu race, Munshi has great reverence for the Vedas. From them he derives his inspiration and quotes chapter and verse in support of the several schemes for his country's rejuvenation and its material prosperity. He drank this sense for the sacred with his mother's milk. Looking back as he was in 1898, he sees himself as 'a little weak Brahmin boy of nine standing day after day before the shrine of the family God, Shiva. Thrice he takes his bath every day and thrice does he perform his *sandhya.* His mind is full of the mighty heroes and seers of the Puranas; to him they are living beings, members of the family to which he belongs; he lives with them in his imagination; they visit him in his dreams; he feels himself heir of untold centuries of Indian culture. Day and night he lives in a dreamland of ancient men and women, and life is to him a joyous consecration.' He adds: 'I recall this perennial source of inspiration which has made me what I am.'

Influence of Classics

Among the ancients, Vyasa particularly exerted a powerful influence on Munshi's mind. To him 'the vision of Vyasa encompassed life in one vast concept of Dharma in all its bearings; in the strength and weakness of man; in the nature of human relationship; in the imponderable forces working in the universe; in the universal moral order supported by *satya, tapas* and *shanti;* truth, self-discipline and the all-embracing calm of the spirit.'

It would appear that it is his admiration for Vyasa as the first historian of mankind that roused the instinct for historical research and made him dive into the past of his native home of Gujarat in the first instance and then into the ethnic, social, cultural and political antiquities of India as a whole. The magnificent volumes of *The History and Culture of the Indian People* are the outcome of this inspiration.

From his boyhood, Munshi was nursed in the immortal epics of India. In later years, he delighted in dwelling on them as lofty forms of literature and as the perennial springs of spiritual satisfaction. The

culture portrayed in these epics appealed to Munshi so strongly that all his ideas and aspirations were drawn from that source.

Among other books that fashioned Munshi's mind, two have been his companions all through his life. They are the *Bhagavad Gita* and Patanjali's *Yoga Sutras.* He has used them both as 'scripture', as instruments of '*svadhyaya*', a sacred text for recital. These books have been his guides in trials and in suffering, in defeat and in success. He has been testing the principles of the Gita on the touchstone of his experience. He believes that 'unless the eternal truth underlying the *Bhagavad Gita* is utilised to shape life in all its modernity and richness, it will be impossible to bring the modern mind to appreciate the beauty and the grandeur of the absolute integration of human personality for which the Gita provides the perfect guide.' He has frequently observed that four or five crucial verses of the Gita sustained him, filled him with hope, gave him consolation and courage when he had to face extreme odds during the early years of this century.

Patanjali's *Yoga Sutras,* to which he introduced himself when he was in college, has been twin to the Gita in moulding Munshi's life. Profiting by Aurobindo's exposition and adopting his own technique, he practised yoga to secure concentration of mind and a broadening of his intellect. Beginning from stark penury, he rose to opulence; but, in the true spirit of yoga, he knew to enjoy by renouncing.

Influence of Masters

Apart from the classics of our land, the *Mahabharata,* the *Gita* and the *Yoga Sutras,* three great men exerted a phenomenal influence on Munshi. They were Dayananda, Aurobindo and Mahatma Gandhi. These provided the idealistic counterpart to the classical realist in him and, by his genius, he welded the two parts of his being into an integrated personality. His vision of 'the highest scientific education grafted on an education essentially Indian,' his passion for Sanskrit 'as a predominantly national influence', his ardour to re-orient Vedic culture to the needs of modern times—all these could be traced to the influence of Dayananda on his mind.

Aurobindo was Munshi's teacher in the Baroda College. In the formative years of his youth, he came under the spell of this master-

mind, the revolutionary-turned-yogi of uncommon kind. Aurobindo's nationalism, like that of Vivekananda, was in terms of worship and adoration of Mother India. In Aurobindo, Munshi discovered a great artist of life who had risen above the basic limitations and become the vehicle of Divine Will, wise and far-reaching. His works contain the most comprehensive survey of the re-integrated Indian culture. He followed Vivekananda in his attempt to transmute *Sanatana Dharma* into a dynamic Indian nationalism. To art and literature, to thought and religion, to the way of Indian life and to the pattern of Indian culture, Aurobindo gave a new outlook and a fresh inspiration. Munshi drew largely from this inspiration in the evolution of his ideas of personal and national integration.

If 'Aurobindo was a distant inspiration of Munshi's youth, Gandhi was a proximate inspiration of his present.' In him Munshi saw a master-builder of Indian unity. Differently as it was from Aurobindo, Gandhiji 'harnessed the basic limitations of his fellow-men and worked as God's instrument, creative and uplifting.' Munshi says that the secret of Gandhiji's power lies 'in the art of creative life-energy of which he is a master-craftsman. It is in his life and outlook which, by his unceasing efforts he has made typically Indian; in the high moral tension at which he maintains the atmosphere redolent with the Gita and the Ramayana; in his life-long attempt to live in the highest eternal law; in the spirit of surrender to God which integrates his personality.'

More than as a political leader, Gandhi was significant to Munshi, as an apostle of Indian culture, as the embodiment of the collective unconscious of the people, as an earnest votary at the shrine of the Gita, as the symbol of Satya or Truth which he identified with God. The Rama Rajya which Gandhiji wished to establish was understood by Munshi as the domain of Dharma in the life of man. The creative possibilities relating to individual life pregnant in Gandhiji's teachings are more vital to a people than the political actualities which cannot endure save on the firm foundation of the former.

Munshi ever keeps alive in his mind the example of these three masters in whom is reflected the glory that is Aryavarta; and he has no doubt that so long as such masters walk on the earth, in spirit,

though no more in the flesh, 'we need not despair of the destiny of man to rise to the dignity of God.'

Thus the classicist in Munshi, rooted in the Vedic lore and in the epic stories of the past, was moulded by contact with those who embodied them in unique patterns and schooled him as it were in the art of their application to modern conditions. The romantic in Munshi had its early origin when he used to devour the stories of the *Arabian Nights* even as a lad of nine. Later, the historical novels of Alexandre Dumas, Sir Walter Scott and Bankimchandra Chattopadhyaya filled his mind with the sense of adventure in the realm of thought. These seeds sown in the years of his youth later flowered and bore fruit in the marvellous ways in which Munshi re-created the past of his home through the novels and plays that he wrote in his native tongue. The combination of history with romance in Munshi's versatile pen brought forth a sense of pride on the one hand and a thrill of joy on the other, both together making for an urge for constructive nationalism.

Creative Writer

The crusader in Munshi was roused by his reading the classics of the nineteenth century. Biographies like *Abbot's Life of Napoleon,* and the works of Tom Paine, Mazzini, John Stuart Mill, Macaulay and Carlyle cast his mind in a mould which was full of the ambition to create great things of enduring value. He was bursting with hero-worship and began to think in a big way and was full of the urge for originality and initiative coupled with a sense for freedom.

The mental struggles and searchings of the heart that Munshi underwent during the ten years from 1904 to 1915 were woven by him into the novels and plays that he wrote in Gujarati and were projected on to the characters of those stories and dramas. Endowed with a rare sensitiveness to beauty, he has created art-forms of entrancing interest which portray the storm and stress of his own personal life. He effected a departure from the conventional type of story writing. weaving the didactic into the romantic. By that means he has succeeded in giving to his readers and his audiences the thrill of life at its fullest, at the same time eschewing the sordid and the vulgar. Munshi says: 'When I write, I do not write for others, but in order to fulfil myself. I tear my heart open in bringing forth its hidden treasure.

I body forth in words only that beauty which is born of my imagination, those cultural values which make up my equipment and my ideas'. Eye-brows were lifted in the beginning at this literary transcription of his own emotional complexes; but, before long the scoffers themselves could not withhold their appreciation of the motif and the method of these compositions, which took Gujarat by storm and exerted an irrepressible appeal on the people. Munshi's social novels and dramas became the rage of the time and have set the tone to modern authors in Gujarati. His creative pen has infused new life and beauty into Gujarati fiction and drama, and the philosophy of life preached by him in his works has given to Gujarat both joy and strength.

Every great intellectual belonging to the closing years of the last century and living into the middle of the present century has been filled with intense nationalistic fervour. Like others, Munshi too was a nationalist of the deepest hue; but with a difference. His love for his country was conditioned by his adoration of its past. The whole of India's history unfolded itself on the canvas of his mind and wherever he went in this vast continent, his mind flew back to its past and imbibed the glorious incidents of long ago. He always recalls to himself the historic and sacred associations of every town and city and sees it, and through it, his motherland, in the context of what made it not merely famous but also adorable. Munshi's nationalism, therefore, has a historical vein running through it. Prompted by that spirit, he resuscitated in his mind the glory that was Gurjaradesa, the sanctity that is Somnath and the unity that is India. He has been moved with an intense longing to bring to contemporary minds the consciousness of all that that past stood for and by that means to restore characteristic Indianness to the Indian view and way of life.

Historical Sense

Munshi has a keen historical sense and when he dives into the past, he does so with a characteristic thoroughness, unearths a wealth of information and presents it with entrancing picturesqueness. His historical perspective is as sweeping as his insight is profound. His monumental researches into the history of his homeland of Gujarat have carved out for him an abiding niche in the galaxy of historians of repute. Talking on any subject, he brings to bear on it a wealth

of historical material relating to its genesis and growth which he marshals in his own characteristic form of narration, unfolding a tale of absorbing interest. It may be the life of Vikramaditya or the foundations of Indian culture or the story of languages like Sanskrit, Hindi or even English or the subject of Indian Inheritance; he develops each of them from its historical roots and unfolds its evolution in the march of time.

But, Munshi is not a mere chronicler; he is not a dry-as-dust historian. He vitalises his narration with the breath of imagery and blazes a new trail of story-writing and dramatisation in which fact and fable are welded together in such a way that truth appears stranger than fiction and fiction puts on the garb of arresting truth.

The Politician

As in the case of others, Munshi's nationalism had also a political genesis. In his younger days, he had devoured Mazzini, Macaulay and Gibbon and had imbibed the fervour of national pride from their writings. The partition of Bengal, which pulled the trigger of the nationalistic movement in India and caused a countrywide explosion, produced reverberations in every youthful mind, and Munshi also felt it. He came under the influence of Aurobindo and was infused with an intense urge to secure his country's freedom from foreign domination. Ere long, Munshi found himself as a volunteer in the extremist camp at the famous Surat Congress and was later intimate with Jinnah, Mrs. Besant, Tilak and Gandhiji. The Home Rule League, and the Congress drew him into their fold in the height of their activities. His wife Lilavatibehn companioned him in the freedom fight with remarkable constancy, consenting to share his privations as she did his affluence. Following the Mahatma, he too went to jail several times in the freedom struggle.

Constitution Maker

With the dawn of independence, Munshi played a most substantial part in the constructive field of politics, namely, hammering out a constitution for India. From the very first, he had before him the ideal of the integral unity of India. Both as a member of the Committee of Experts to prepare material and draft for the Constituent Assembly and as one of the body of men who actually drew up the constitution,

Munshi's legal acumen and statesmanship were placed at the disposal of his country without any reserve and with a supreme sense of the far-reaching implications of the great task in which he was engaged. Two things more than others engaged his anxious attention in this work, namely, the challenge of the disruptive tendencies in the country, then posed by the Muslim League (and now by the centrifugal factors detrimental to the unity of India), and the challenge of irresponsibility naturally found when vast power is acquired by a people without attaining political maturity. Both these challenges aroused ominous forebodings in Munshi's mind and the posture of affairs in the recent past has not belied his fears.

In Hyderabad

Concurrently with constitution-making was the problem of the integration of Indian States with the Union of India. The greatest obstacle to this consummation came from Hyderabad. To overcome it, Sardar Patel wanted a person of absolute patriotic fervour, moral rectitude and astute statesmanship. By an unerring intuition, he entrusted Munshi with the task which, in all conscience, was 'difficult', as Gandhiji put it. But Gandhiji added: 'but you will not fail'. No one underrated the gravity of the task which Lord Mountbatten said was 'a job for a front-rank politician.' At grave peril to his own life, Munshi wrought a successful solution of the Hyderabad problem which drew from Sardar unstinted appreciation of 'the high sense of public duty that induced you to accept this office and the very able manner in which you discharged the duties entrusted to you, which contributed in no small measure to the final result.' The integration of Hyderabad was a great day for India; it was a great day for Munshi as well in that he was chosen as an instrument to forge the unity of the country which was a passionate dream of his life.

For Unity of India

It is an irony of fate that after long years of intimate association with the nation's stalwarts in the fight for freedom in several spheres and in various forms, Munshi has had to part company with the party that rules the country. He once observed: 'The unity of India is usually taken for granted. We care little to consider how it was built

up and destroyed, and how it is being strengthened and undermined at the same time.' He sees before his eyes that unity in grave jeopardy. People who were blind to long-term consequences allowed themselves to be terrified by the false spectre of disaster if the demand made at the bayonet point of short-sighted fanaticism was not conceded. And the Andhra State was created. In its wake came many more of the same kind which have all but undone the great achievement of Sardar Patel. Bombay and Gujarat too were infected by this fever and the people were in a delirium of mutual hatred and antagonism. Though yielding to none in his love for his native tongue and its literature, re-creator of Gujarat nationalism though he was, Munshi saw, as others would not see, the disastrous consequences of a movement which sought to divide the State of Bombay on the basis of language. Risking unpopularity and odium from his own people, the champion of *Gujaratni Asmita* strongly believed that living together in a common political set-up with people speaking other languages was no bar to the development of that consciousness. His forebodings that Indian national consciousness would be disrupted became justified through the years following the publication of the States Reorganization Committee's Report as state after state came to be carved out on a linguistic basis leading to regional jealousies and animosities. Munshi would not consent to sacrifice his sense of higher nationalism to subordinate loyalties.

Advocate of Hindi

Likewise, the trend of thought in respect of the language of administration and of higher education has been disquieting to him in a great measure. He has championed the cause of Hindi as the common language of the country with all the vehemence at his command. After a hard fight, the formula evolved by Gopalaswami Aiyangar and Munshi was almost unanimously accepted by the Constituent Assembly, defining the future of Hindi as the national language of India as follows:

> 'It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India......'

Yet, Munshi would not be a fanatic for Hindi, nor would he force the pace of its universal adoption throughout the country. To him

national unity is more important than linguistic unity. Here again, as before, he would not consent to sacrifice a nation for a language.

Champion of English

Another development of modern times that has caused Munshi extreme anguish is the hasty attempt to dislodge English from its position in the realm of higher education. He considers it a false nationalism which says that English should go out of the country along with the English Government. He is strongly persuaded that

> 'English literature to-day is no longer the pride of the Englishman alone. It is as much an Indian's, American's or Canadian's as an Englishman's. Most educated Indians have for the last three quarters of a century thrilled to the rich beauty of English poetry; lived in the wonderland created by the English dramatists from the mighty Shakespeare to the irrepressible Shaw; moved in English life with the aid of the novelists from Fielding to Hardy; built their outlooks with the help of English thinkers from Bacon to Russell; and have absorbed the political and legal traditions of the great English politicians and judges.'

In English and its literature, Munshi sees 'the most potent influence in unifying and uplifting the world.' He knows 'a little of the growth of modern literature in India', and he is 'free to confess in spite of my intense nationalism that, but for the tremendous influence of English literature, our languages would not have gained their present-day vigour and expressiveness.' In his own literary output, and in fact in his whole outlook on life, the influences of two literatures—Sanskrit and English—have been inextricably interwoven. Munshi has no doubt that English had 'led to a cultural upheaval in India and to a widening of the vision'.

But his love of English does not blind him to the need to build up a powerful indigenous national language which will weld the people into one whole. And he is emphatic that that language should be Hindi. But he warns his countrymen that a hasty substitution of English by Hindi as the medium of higher education before Hindi can develop into a like fertility and flexibility will be shortsighted in the extreme. It would before long make the people of different parts of India strangers to one another, shut off the doors of educational inter-

communication in the several apartments of the mansion of our motherland and close the windows of our mind to breezes from afar and leave us stagnant while the world marches on in the quest of knowledge. Here one finds the realist in him restraining the idealist, though in certain other aspects of his life the idealist chafes at the curbs impeding his flight in the cloudland in which he loves to soar and sing. Munshi has no patience with a bellicose temper which, under the cloak of a sentimental patriotism, invades academic halls, retards their progress and disrupts their efficiency.

Fight for Moral Standards

By far the most acute anguish in Munshi's mind has been caused by the alarming fall in moral standards alike among the administrators and the people during the recent past. Internal politics in India have provided abundant proof of the inescapable fact that power corrupts. He sees everyday the spirit of Gandhi immolated on the cross of personal ambition and party aggrandisement in scorn of Truth and Goodness and raping the graces of Beauty. It must have been with a very heavy heart that he felt constrained to break away from an organisation with which he was most intimately associated for the best part of his lifetime and from comrades along with whom he fought in the struggle for his country's freedom. One who, after the winning of independence, held responsible posts as a Minister in the Central Cabinet and as Governor of the biggest among the States constituting the Union of India, should have thought many times before he joined a party opposed to the Congress. And he did so because he feels that, in many ways in the ordering of the life of the people and in its administrative practices, the government of the day is drifting ominously more and more from the ideals taught by the Father of the Nation and enshrined in the traditional culture of our land. Munshi, therefore, is compelled to engage in a new fight to release his countrymen from the stranglehold of a native octopus, due to which all that is noble and pure in the thoughts and actions of the people is fast ebbing away. He sees the portents of infinite danger in the moral chaos that is setting in under the present dispensation and his Aryan spirit cannot reconcile itself to be, despite his years, a passive spectator of the portentious decay in ethical and spiritual values.

Educational Ideals

Munshi's creative activities are all expressions of a philosophy of life that he has developed in the rough and tumble of his experience. As a typical Aryan, he is eager to vitalise Aryan culture and make it permeate every part of life, individual, social, and national, and also all forms of literary and artistic creation. Wishing to combine stability with creativeness, Munshi realised that educational institutions should grow from the seed-bed of an essentially Aryan culture which he wished to revive in the soil of modern India. Intensely dissatisfied with the shape of education at the present day, he planned a process of education which must necessarily follow the lines of our own culture. This culture is not a mere matter of religion, not a particular social system or a philosophy by itself. It is a way of life. Munshi has been pleading for a re-orientation of our educational pattern impregnating it with ideals inherent in Aryan culture without which it would be 'useless and sterile'. He feels that 'only if they are followed will education be creative and India grow stronger.'

For thirty years and more he has had contact with education in many of its aspects—with colleges, high schools, and *pathasalas*; with institutions like the David Sassoon Industrial School, the Chembur Home of Vocational Education and the Mansukhlal Chhaganlal School of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry. He has helped in the formation of Universities in Gujarat and Baroda. He was a member of the Senate and the Syndicate of the Bombay University and its representative in the Bombay Legislature. As Governor of Uttar Pradesh he was Chancellor of five universities. He used to come into close contact with student life at all levels, living in the midst of students, sharing their activities and aspirations and shaping their thoughts and ideals. Through the institution of the Chancellor's Camp, he lived in the company of grown-up students whom he studied at close quarters.

His contact with education both in its processes and its products convinced Munshi that 'the education which India has been receiving for the last one hundred and fifty years is neither Indian nor creative. Even at its best it is not Western. It is purely informative, not formative.' Creative education is the need of the times, much more so in free India than ever before. A fresh outlook and a changed approach are necessary. 'Creative education must make our young men

really Indian, strong, true and free—embodiments of the finest in their culture; authentic representatives of India, the teacher of nations, which has a message for humanity.'

Munshi deplores the over-emphasis on science and technology in modern education. 'Westernism has taught us false values. The technological creature which modern education is breeding is the result of a wicked belief that it is not necessary for an average man to master the art of life. The truth is that scientific equipment and culture are not mutually exclusive. If the world wants to escape the horrors of the atomic age, the scientist must be first and foremost a man of culture, an artist in self-sculpture. His vocation is to be an instrument of a self-fulfilment to be attained, not with the dire weapons of an angry Jove, but with the integration of a Buddha. The destiny of man cannot be allowed to be frustrated by an exclusive emphasis on scientific knowledge and skill and a neglect of the permanent values of culture.'

Passion for Sanskrit

According to Munshi, the importance of classical studies in general and the study of Sanskrit in particular cannot be exaggerated in the context of a creative education. For 'they give the student an insight into the permanent values of culture. They enable him to appraise works of art and literature, social and political theories and movements, individual and collective action in a proper perspective. Finally, they impart faith in the dignity of man and the supremacy of the Moral order. They give a living touch with the highest vision of beauty and sublimity given to man.' Munshi therefore bemoans that, of late, classical studies have fallen into disrepute. He pleads for the inculcation in our educational system of the Aryan discipline and the Aryan way of life based on Sanatana-dharma, the law eternal, " 'wisdom uncreate, the same now as it ever was, and the same to be ever more' as St. Augustine put it." This Aryan way is enshrined in the classics of the Sanskrit language and that is why Munshi pleads passionately for the spread of Sanskrit among our people. The establishment of the Sanskrit Viswa Parishad and the organisation on a countrywide scale of the Saral Sanskrit Studies and examinations are due to his crusading zeal for the rehabilitation of Sanskrit. One almost hears him constantly exclaim: Who lives if Sanskrit dies and who dies if Sanskrit lives?

Builder of the Bhavan

The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, a comprehensive edifice reared by Munshi, is intended by him to serve as an instrument of this creative education, or Bharatiya Siksha as he significantly calls it. To Munshi, 'the Bhavan is not an institution. It is a movement, a cause. Its objects, from the very start, were to encourage the study of all aspects of Indian culture; to help in its re-integration; and to study and spread the fundamentals of Aryan culture. It is to serve as a centre in which the ancient learning and modern intellectual aspirations of the land might combine to create a new literature, a new history and a new culture. The Bhavan is to be an association which will organise active centres where ancient Aryan learning is studied and where modern Indian culture is provided with a historical background. The re-integration of Bharatiya Vidya which is the primary object of Bharatiya Siksha is to be attained through a study of forces, movements, motives, ideas, forms and art of creative life-energy through which it has expressed itself in different ages as a single continuous process. The ultimate aim of Bharatiya Siksha, therefore, is to teach the younger generation to appreciate and live up to the permanent values of Bharatiya Vidya which, flowing from the supreme art of creative life-energy as represented by Shri Ramachandra, Shri Krishna, Vyasa, Buddha and Mahavira have expressed themselves in modern times in the life of Shri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, Swami Dayananda Saraswati and Swami Vivekananda, Shri Aurobindo and Mahatma Gandhi. The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan is a harmonious blend of the ancient that is deathless and of the modern which is refreshingly new. In this advocacy one sees in Munshi a living synthesis of the conservative and the liberal which is the substance of true creativity.

In Service of the Muses

Among the forms of creative education envisaged by Munshi, music has an important place. Realising that music is the potent instrument to raise the soul of man to the foot-stool of God, he has ever been conscious of its value to help the spirit to soar to the empyrean on the wings of song matching word with meaning, and meaning with melody.

Munshi has been purposefully aware of the glory of music, for, he has a strain of music in his blood. He says: 'Though I do not

know music, as an impressionist I love it. In order to enjoy it, I have let my mind float in the stream of music. I believe with Heine that "the very existence of music is wonderful; I may say miraculous. Its domain is between thought and phenomenon; like the twilight, it hovers between spirit and matter, related to both, yet different from each".' 'It stirs my heart,' observes Munshi, 'intensifies my emotions; and awakens in me a longing for a higher, nobler and more beautiful life.' In it he reads 'the supreme language of the emotions rarefied by intense yearning. A Mirabai's song or a beautiful folk *garbi* with its sound and sense and lilt harmonised into a thing of beauty has often moved me to tears. The camel-man's song in Udaipur coming out of the wilderness has brought to me an unwonted yearning for the boundless desert. A classical song sung in a beautiful flexible voice effortlessly to the throb of the *mrudang* and the accompaniment of the divine *sarangi* has set my veins pulsating with ecstacy. The distant Vedic chant floating over the evening air has brought to me a vision of the Ineffable.'

Munshi felt a great urge to resuscitate music and the allied arts from their decline in his native land of Gujarat and to retrieve them from their abuse by those who were prone to commit sacrilege on them vulgarising their content and their practice. When he was young, 'music was looked upon with disfavour in respectable homes. It was sheltered only by the vagrant, the vagabond and the fallen women. It was often inseparable from the fumes of the ganja and the filthy language of the low class *tablachi*.' He himself earned the reputation of being a wicked boy when he sang snatches of Gujarati songs.

Munshi was anxious to purify and exalt music to its pristine glory. He wished to make it a respectable institution both of social and individual culture. He wanted to make dance the means of developing feminine graces and to employ the drama as a portrayal of the deeper urges and the nobler aspirations of human nature. To him, these three, music, dance and drama, are parts of a creative education which will integrate man with himself, with his environment, with society and ultimately with God. And this desire was augmented and enriched by his marriage with one who was passionately devoted to the Fine Arts, especially music. Lilavati herself was a play-wright of repute through whose pen flowed the joys of life in keeping with the sublime

and the sacred. A responding chord vibrated in Munshi's breast and the two bent their hearts and merged their wills to revitalise the arts; they practised a duet of their accordant tunes in praise of the Muses.

Crusading for Culture

The continuous undercurrent of Munshi's life from his early years has been his purpose to catch the eternal Spirit of Indian Culture and translate it in terms of worldly activities. The modern trend of secularism in all aspects of life has filled him with great concern. He is anxious that India should not go the way of the ancient civilisations of Egypt, Greece and Babylon. Fortunately for us, our classical literature is still a living force. Our epic heroes still continue to receive adoration. Our gods and goddesses who represent the Supreme in Its diverse aspects are still worshipped in private homes and public temples. Sages and saints are in continuous supply in our holy land, and they guide us by their example and their exhortation. An atmosphere of sacredness pervades the entire country in its numerous places of pilgrimage, in its mountains, trees, rivers and tanks. The Vedic tradition is still very much alive amidst us. These are inestimable advantages which we of this land possess as no other people ever did or can possess. Munshi's mission has been to make the Aryan culture, symbolised in these facets, permeate the Indian people and govern their life and conduct. The movements that he has started and the institutions that he has reared have all had this one purpose of making this culture a living vital force in the being of every son and daughter of this land. Says he:

> 'I have faith in the creative ideas of our culture. The fathers of our race discovered these creative ideas in the days when Egypt and Babylon were infant states. They have sustained India through the ages in one continuous stream of vigour. They affirm as the aim and end of life the absolute integration of the human personality by making it the medium of expression for the joy that fades not nor tires. It predicates Man as an inalienable centre of strength and dignity, of the Moral order as the immutable law which shelters and upholds the Universe, of faith in the Absolute, of the will to be His instrument in the fulfilment of His ends, and of the strength to be true to oneself by conquering the fundamental limitations of wrath, attachment and fear, and, thereby

reaching to the infinite in this life. We must move out of our narrow, egoistic self to a vast foundation which reaches out to a collective consciousness of oneness with the whole of India; from India to the One World; from One World to all Existence by aspiration transforming step by step the way of individual life and life of the organism. We must see and feel more and more universal consciousness. We must see, not in theory, not in belief, but in living and feeling, all in ourselves and all in God, all in Him and Him in all. Thus we shall have one India, one World, a new era and the dawn of a full life.'

Epilogue

This is the 'argument' of Munshi's life in its 'three strands of acceptance rather than denial, comprehension rather than exclusion, integration rather than suppression.' He has endeavoured through the years to translate the 'fever and ecstasy of his aspirations' into objective realities which are not intended to be mere edifices of brick and mortar, but to function as a movement, a mission, a cause for the revival of Indian culture at its best and integration of it with the fresh needs of the changing times. In this task none could be conscious of Munshi's limitations more than he himself. He has been, in many aspects of his life, of the earth, earthy. Given to relentless self-examination as he is, he has been conscious of his frailties and limitations. It is not contended that he has no faults. None so great or pure as to be absolutely free from flaws. But Munshi's faults, such as they were, are the defects of his complex personality. By and large, Munshi's mind has been oriented to the spirit. He has engaged himself in a continuous search of the fundamentals of Aryan culture and transcribing them in the alphabet of modern life.

Taken all in all, Munshi reminds one of a man who has stepped out of the classical times on to the mundane world and yet has continually striven to maintain a link with the origin of his inspiration. His living faith in God and constant *bhakti* to Him have always stood him in good stead in the practice of Karma Yoga. He has been clay in the Potter's hands, but clay which has been shaped to great purpose. With dogged determination, he has performed the tasks which his inspiration dictated without caring for consequences or ever flinching from them. Thus, Munshi has been a *kalyanakrit*, ever bending his

energy to schemes of beneficence in the service of his country and God. He has never taken a holiday from acts of *lokasangraha*. Others at his age might like to rest on their oars; not so Munshi. Despite advancing age and declining health, he continues to think, speak and act in furtherance of causes that he has made essentially his own.

Few of his generation have lived such a purposeful life as Munshi has done. Few have had the inspiration, the means and the opportunity to convert dreams into realities. In few have opposites met in perfect unison as in him. Poverty and affluence, austerity and pleasure, the classical and the romantic, conservatism and liberalism, Aryan culture and modern life, orthodoxy and social reform, principles and politics—such dualities are accommodated in Munshi's being in rare harmony. Above all, his abiding faith in God and unflinching devotion to a Power, of which (he is ever conscious) he is but a small instrument in whatever he has been able to accomplish, have been the sheet anchor of his life in its voyage during the years.

'As I looked back on the past,' said Munshi once in a radio talk about himself, 'the picture of the little boy of 1898 rose before me and instantly I realised that that little boy of 1898, living in the thoughts of his glorious ancestry, was the true and real me; that in him were those impulses and associations which made and make India truly great; and that the subsequent stages of my life have been but crude, inartistic, modernised, tawdry versions of that wonderful original work.' One must beg leave to differ from Munshi and to affirm that his life has been inspired generally by an earnest striving to capture and to radiate the supreme values of Truth, Goodness and Beauty which alone, in the last resort, are the marks of a purposeful and noble life.

A GREAT PILGRIM

GURDIAL MULLICK

I met Munshiji for the first time in the flesh only a few years ago, though I had heard of him as a top-ranking writer of Gujarati novels as far back as the First World War, when I was a student in one of the colleges in Bombay.

The meeting came about in the heights of the Himalayas. Munshi was staying in a hotel in Pahilgam in Kashmir to recoup his health which had been subjected to a severe strain as a sequence to a long spell of many-sided activity. One evening, in the company of a leading lawyer of Bombay, who had graciously taken me with his family for a four-month sojourn in that beautiful valley, I called at the hotel to inquire after his health. We were led upstairs to the room where he had put up. We found him sitting in an easy chair, looking through the window-pane, at the majesty and magic of that monarch among mountains. We walked on tiptoe in order not to disturb him in his reverie, knowing as we did that he was not only an intellectual but also an aesthete, an artist to his very finger-tips.

After some time, however, Munshi turned accidentally in our direction and at once folded his hands and with beaming eyes greeted us and asked us to take our seats.

'How are you feeling?' asked my kind host, whom I had accompanied to the hotel.

Pointing to the Himalayas, Munshi answered with effortless ease, 'In the presence of such supreme beauty who can talk of ugliness? It will be sacrilegious. And disease is ugliness. Politics is ugliness. Only Beauty *is* and only Beauty counts.'

It was crystal clear to us from this rhapsody on beauty that the Himalayas had cast their hoary spell on this pilgrim. I advisedly say 'pilgrim', for whether he is conscious of it or not, Munshi is essentially a pilgrim. His versatile genius with its several dazzling facets has all along appeared to me to be only a touchstone on which he has been trying to test the essence of ecstasy. Whether he talks or

writes about human nature, history, sociology, art, politics, economics, law or of any other subject—and he seems to have made almost every subject under the sun yield its secret under the pressure of his running intelligence—there is a certain subtle restlessness of the spirit which hovers round him with its tantalizing goading to go on and on. And does not a pilgrim in his heart of hearts also feel such an inner urge to continue his pilgrimage till he has a taste of the Eternal!

Therefore, I have a secret feeling that at times Munshi must be confronting himself, in the manner of Maitreyi, the sagacious wife of the sage Yagnavalkya, with the question, 'What shall I do with all these aspirations and attainments of mine if they will not make me immortal?' And I would not be surprised in the least if one day we heard that he had given up every activity of his to prefer his claim—which is the birthright of every human being—to the Sonship of the Spirit, of whom every faculty of ours is a humble servant. For indeed, the first and foremost place belongs by right, as by enlightened reason, to the Father.

A PHILOSOPHER IN ACTION

C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer

It is not easy to describe, in a few words, the manifold activities of K. M. Munshi; but I possess the advantage of having known him from the days when, in association with leaders like Bhulabhai Desai, he made his way to the top ranks of legal advocacy.

I became acquainted with Munshi when he was editing *Young India* and when he was a prominent figure in the Home Rule and Congress movements. He was associated with the Congress and with the All-India Congress Committee for a series of years and he was, at the same time, vitally interested in problems of social welfare; and, indeed, he edited the *Social Welfare* Magazine with conspicuous success. I also came across him when he was Home Minister of the Government of Bombay from 1937. He, thereafter, became a Member of the Constituent Assembly and was one of the architects of the Indian Constitution. He was, later, connected with the Government of India as Food Minister and as Governor of U.P. and earlier, as Agent-General, during the fateful days of the Hyderabad struggle. He has occupied a prominent position not only in politics and public affairs but in culture and humanism.

If I were asked to describe the basic features of Munshi's career, I would describe him as primarily a great literary figure. He is a loving historian of Gujarat, its literature and its art. He is himself a prolific writer in Gujarati and, indeed, he has been described as one of the creators of modern Gujarati literature both from the points of view of poetry and drama as well as of the short story. He is, in short, an outstanding general writer, novelist and dramatist in Gujarati and is equally at home in the graver and the lighter styles and subjects.

Helped by his remarkably talented wife, he has founded the great Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, one of the focal centres of the attempt to bring about a Hindu renaissance. It is a significant research institute endeavouring to resuscitate the Indian spirit in life, art and literature. His contributions to the *Bhavan's Journal*, his biographies and his autobiographical sketches (in his Kulapati's letters) have done a great deal to

enlighten the Indian public on the inner significance of recent events and movements.

Munshi has been an active exponent and advocate of the right type of University education. He has been the protagonist of many educational institutions and, in addition, in his writings he has displayed an ardent anxiety to re-organise the educational system and to give due place to a study of the past as well as to the realisation of the indispensable scientific and technological needs of the future. He has fought a hard fight with regard to the retention of English as an instrument for forging national unity and integration and, in many other directions, he has worked hard for the unity of aspiration and endeavour in all aspects of Indian life and activity.

It was in 1919 that I first met Munshi when he was Secretary of the Bombay Home Rule League. From those days up to the present, one of the main characteristics that I have noted in him has been that he has not set too much store by temporary popularity and has been fully reconciled to the ups and downs of political and personal life. This characteristic was exemplified by his leaving the Congress in 1941 and re-joining it in 1946, in both cases earning as much criticism as approval. He was also subject to fierce attack when he was Agent-General in Hyderabad in 1947-1948; and, quite recently, his adherence to the Swatantra party gave rise to much comment. But, just as he did not conform to pattern when opposing the Congress High Command, he had also no hesitation in differing from the leader of the Swatantra party in respect of his attitude towards certain separatist movements in the South of India. In short, Munshi is a philosopher in action who, in the language of the poet:

Can meet with Triumph and Disaster
And treat those Impostors just the same.

A VERSATILE MAN

H. P. MODY

I have known K. M. Munshi for more years than I care to recall, and I am hardly the person to be called upon to write about him. A friend has been described as one who knows you and still likes you, and in speaking about a friend, the truth is often to be found at the bottom of the well. In this case, however, I do not think there is any fear of my violating my conscience.

The predominant characteristic of Munshi is his versatility and range of interests. He has been a fighter for freedom, one of the framers of the Constitution which followed in its wake, a Minister at the Centre as well as in our State, a novelist and dramatist, and the creator of an institution which ranks amongst the most important educational and cultural influences in the country. The amount of work which he has put into all these fields of endeavour has been amazing. It has been rendered possible, apart from his intellectual attainments, by his abstemious and regular habits. He lives according to a schedule, and this it is that has enabled him to achieve what many men of a more robust constitution have found it difficult to do.

A certain measure of instability is inherent in politics. The policies and methods of a party change from time to time, and it may well happen that some of its adherents drop out on the way. Whenever that takes place, there is a tendency to read into such an action an ulterior motive. In a large majority of cases the imputation happens to be justified; sheer opportunism is the reason for a change of political clothing. It justifies the cynicism that a man's politics are mostly determined by appointments and disappointments. In the case of Munshi, he has told us it was no pleasure for him to leave the Congress; he had abandoned the ancestral roof because it was no longer the roof which the architects of the nation had built. It would be unjust and uncharitable to question this statement. It is in accord with the facts of political life. It has to be remembered, besides, that for some years to come at any rate, the Swatantra Party can offer no prizes

or plums which can induce anyone to leave the ranks of the party in power. It makes no sense to try to find any ulterior motive for Munshi's decision to turn his back on the Congress.

I have referred to the many-sided activities of our friend. His dramas and novels have earned for him a secure place in the literature of Gujarat, and he will be best remembered by them. In spite of heavy demands on his time and energy, his output of words has been amazing. The columns of the journals published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan and the political and other speeches of Munshi bear testimony to his wide range of interests and his facility for expression. Everything seems to come natural to him, whether it be his reminiscences, his incursions into ancient history and mythology, or his discourses on religious and cultural subjects. Recently, Munshi has cultivated a fondness for talking about his advancing years. Whether it is just a pose or a realisation of the relentless march of Time, the clarity and vigour of his mind completely belie the assumption that age has withered his infinite variety.

The many friends of Munshi will wish to convey to him on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday their best wishes for his health and happiness. He has his faults, as everyone has, but he has led a most useful and interesting life and lived laborious days. Long may he continue to do so. Maybe, when he has added a few more years to his life, he may come to be looked upon as an Acharya or an Elder Statesman! Old age has its compensations.

AS A COLLEAGUE AND FRIEND

SRI PRAKASA

It is doubtless embarrassing to speak or write publicly about a friend and colleague. I must, however, put aside all my hesitation, and offer my hearty felicitations to Shri Kanhaiyalal Munshi on completing 75 years of a rich and varied life, and wish him many many happy returns of the day, and continued usefulness for a long long time yet to come. Though I do not exactly remember the occasion or time when first I met him, I certainly recall meetings of Congress Committees in the early days of Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, when he played his own part in shaping events that took place then in quick succession, heralding the day when we would be a free people. I actually first met him to talk to, when on a visit to my home town of Banaras, he and his wife came to see my father Dr. Bhagavan Das, in 1934. I had just then been reading one of his novels translated into Hindi; and so there was much common ground to talk about.

Though Munshi was widely respected as a great figure in Gujarati literature, and as one who gave a new turn to the great Gujarati language, and though he was also very well known as an eminent lawyer and worker in many public fields—social, educational and political—on the Bombay side, I think the rest of us first knew about his great and latent capabilities when he became Home Minister of the Bombay Government in the first Congress Cabinet that was formed in 1937, when the Congress accepted office in the provinces, under the Government of India Act of 1935. He certainly then proved that a literary man can be a strong and firm administrator as well, and one who would stand no nonsense. The times were difficult as communal passions were high. Munshi's task was by no means easy, but he performed them with dexterity and success. The outbreak of the Second World War brought the Congress Ministries to a premature end; and from 1939 onwards, dark and dismal days followed till at last freedom came in 1947, and most public men were called from jails to various offices in order to consolidate the Government and administration of Independent India.

I had the privilege of coming in close personal contact with Munshi for the first time as fellow-members of the Constituent Assembly, along with others. I was then amazed at the versatile genius and the capacity for very hard and sustained work that characterised him. He seemed to be at home with constitution-making as with other departments of the world's activities. While the Constitution was still on the anvil, he was required to go to Hyderabad at a very critical moment; and the story of his activities there reads like a saga. I was sent to Pakistan as India's first High Commissioner in that newly founded sovereign State that had been cut out from the living body of the mother-land (1947). I feel sad that I should have had to be the symbol of this cruel and tragic vivisection. From Karachi as my headquarters, I could see what was going on there so far as the State of Hyderabad was concerned, as it was presumed there that it belonged to Pakistan because the ruling prince was a Muslim. The Nizam had not even opted for Pakistan. Gun-running by an Englishman from Karachi to Hyderabad was actively encouraged. I also read with deep distress of the events in Hyderabad itself. Munshi's tasks were difficult and delicate. He certainly lived in dangerous conditions. He was, however, undeterred. Success finally crowned his efforts when Hyderabad was integrated with the rest of the country. As I watched events from Karachi, I was myself very greatly struck as to how the self-same man could be a good administrator, a good constitution-maker, and a good diplomat, besides being a lawyer and a litterateur.

It so happened that in 1950, both he and I became members of the Central Cabinet, and later we were respectively Governors of each other's home States. It was then that I came to know Munshi fairly closely. I found him a person of very original ideas, and with his active and agile mind, he was very restless if he should have apparently but little to do. He almost seemed to invite difficulties to overcome them. He was the Central Food Minister at a critical time when the supply of food in the country was getting dangerously low. It is not easy to keep up the morale or ensure the loyalty of a people who are in imminent danger of starvation. Munshi was able to tide over the anxious days successfully; and no deaths by actual starvation were reported though only a few years earlier in 1943, millions of men had died of hunger in the streets and suburbs of such an otherwise prosperous town as Calcutta.

It was Munshi's brain-wave that brought the Van Mahotsava festival into existence. He saw with his clear penetrating vision how the reckless destruction of our forests was disturbing the incidence of rainfall in the country, turning fertile fields into arid deserts, and reducing the supply of necessary food for the people. Under his inspiration, the movement has caught on. Millions of new trees have been planted, while the conscience of the people has been roused to the sense of their duty in behalf of our valuable flora, and our great and natural friends, the trees of our woodlands which as the Lord Buddha has said, 'ask for nothing from man; sustain themselves by the air and rain and earth that nature gives them. They are tolerant and forgiving, affording shelter even to the cruel person that cuts them down'. It is indeed a pity that a people like us whose civilization was born in the forest and not in the city as every other civilization has done, should have been so careless about nature's bounty to us in our vegetable creation. It was given to Munshi to show us our duty in this behalf; and we should be grateful.

It was not always that I agreed with Munshi in his proposals while we were fellow-members of Government. Once he wanted to levy a tax on the indigenous sugar-cane crushing wheels (*Kolhu*) that are set up in almost all our villages. As an old agriculturist, I protested against it. Munshi would not budge; but soon he found that it was an impossible proposition, and he withdrew his suggestion. He has not that obduracy that many in high positions have who tend to think that they alone are right, and who refuse to retrace when once they have said or done something. I never found this unpleasing feature in Munshi's life. He has no unnecessary pride that spoils the work of so many otherwise good men.

Later as fellow-Governors, we had much to do with each other. The position of Governors is not very happy under the present Constitution; and conventions have not yet been evolved which would help in the proper and helpful adjusting of relations between Governors and their Ministries. Munshi had a far from pleasant time in Uttar Pradesh, particularly in the matter of universities where discipline was at a dangerously low ebb, and which quite rightly Munshi wanted to restore. He was even openly insulted by students even when performing his formal and social duties as ex-officio Chancellor. He is a strong man, and he

does not make compromises when he is doing what he thinks is right. I doubt if he received all the co-operation that he deserved and was entitled to from his Ministers—Chief, Home and Education. I am more sorry for them than for him.

I personally admire Munshi for his stand. As one who has been a Governor myself, I have no manner of doubt that any Council of Ministers would be the better if they sought and accepted the advice of such an experienced public man as Munshi. I personally feel distressed that though at least in the decade and a half that has passed since Swaraj, Governors and Ministers have been drawn from the same groups and had actually been colleagues in the freedom struggle, ministers should have kept Governors at a distance, or been obsessed with the notion all the time that he was a mere constitutional functionary, and might just as well be left high and dry on his seemingly elevated pedestal. No articles of the Constitution prohibit mutual consultation. In fact they seem to encourage such constant converse.

After his Governorship, Munshi has come back to his beloved Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. It is indeed a deservedly renowned institution. Coming from his distant home town of Broach, with only Rs. 20 in his pocket, Munshi has succeeded in building for himself a great name in Bombay, which must have been a strange and inhospitable city for him when he first arrived there. The Vidya Bhavan is a wonderful creation of his, constantly endeavouring to familiarise our people with the ancient lore and culture of their land, and also bringing this in an attractive form to the peoples of other countries. Its success is something unique and unparalleled. From small beginnings, it has grown into a mighty tree with its varied branches nourishing educational institutions, publication of valuable literature, public lectures, and religious functions.

The Vidya Bhavan is housed in beautiful premises of its own, right in the heart of the city, and has spread its activities not only in the suburbs of Bombay, but also at the headquarters of many other cities. That a person should have done all this single-handed, is certainly very praiseworthy; and I should like to pay my very special tribute of admiration and gratitude to him on his 75th birthday, for all that he has done. He can proudly look back on his achievements; but being not a proud man, he looks on

his work in the spirit of true humility of a scholar and gentleman, giving credit to others and never taking it to himself that makes him particularly dear to all who know him—as fellow-workers or friends.

When I say that Munshi has done his work single-handed, let me make my meaning clear. No one really can do anything merely by himself however great and powerful he might be, for human life is so organised that everyone has to seek the company and assistance of others all the time. What I admire about Munshi is that he has a very good eye for men which not many leaders have, and is able to choose his colleagues and assistants who ever stand loyally and faithfully by him, and are always glad to do his work with such efficiency—promptly and punctually—that is not usually found amongst us. The capacity to make friends and keep them, is a great virtue that Munshi possesses to the full. If that had not been so, the institution that he has built, would not have been what it is today.

Then there is another feature of Munshi's life that must be mentioned. Not many public persons in this sad world of conflict, can claim to have happy personal and domestic lives. Munshi is pre-eminently successful as a family man. In his wife, Lilavatiji, he has a most constant and wonderful comrade. The two are really inseparable whether at home or outside. They seem always to be of one mind, and work together in every sphere that either likes to touch. Sons and daughters, sons-in-law and daughters-in-law are always around them, and they appear bound, each to each, by deep and indissoluble ties of mutual affection and sympathy. It is difficult for a public man, busy with endless calls from all sides, to have such a happy well-knit home. Then when the public man concerned is also a scholar and a very busy professional lawyer, he is hard put to find time for his family in the midst of his endless pre-occupations. Munshi must be a man of super-human tact and energy to be able to make twenty-four hours that are all that are given to him, as to anyone else, yield such rich results. He is indeed worthy of emulation, if that is possible.

He has a very wide circle of friends with all of whom he keeps constant contacts. He is very prompt and regular in his correspondence; and it is a pleasure to know him and keep touch with him. He performs all his social duties punctiliously, and is present by a friend's side in joy and sorrow, assuring everybody that he is keeping his comrades and col-

leagues always in his mind. He is also very careful about his health, his food, his sleep and his exercise. We in India are usually careless about these matters; not so he. He is punctual and methodical, and whenever one meets him, he appears always to be at ease as if he has endless leisure, and really has nothing to do. From whatever point of view one may look at his life, he appears to be something very much out of the ordinary, so far as his achievements go; but very human in his dealings with fellow-men because of which his example can comparatively easily be followed by others. As a lawyer and politician, as a scholar and educationist, as a friend and colleague, as an administrator and statesman, I greet him today, his 75th birthday, and pray that he may long be spared to us to carry on his great work in diverse fields of activity, and by precept and example, stand as a symbol for all his fellow-countrymen, of all that is good and great in our land and our people.

AS A LAWYER

M. C. Setalvad

Few men have had a career so extensively varied as Munshi. We know of him as a distinguished writer of Gujarati fiction, a playwright, a Home Minister at the time of dyarchy, a Cabinet Minister at the Centre, a Governor and perhaps his most fruitful achievement, a builder of educational institutions and organizations. Thus though belonging to the profession of law but a small segment of his activities have centred round the profession.

I have no clear recollection of when we first met; but it must be soon after 1913 when he was admitted to the bar. I was his senior by about two years. Irrevocably this brings to my mind Kania who joined the Bombay Bar soon after, I believe in 1915. For a long number of years the three of us formed as it were a group of leading juniors and at a later stage became senior men at the Bombay Bar.

Though I was Munshi's senior, I began gathering work at the Bar much later than he did. With his amiable temperament and manifold friendships he made a start soon after he joined the bar. His clear mind, keen perception and great ability soon led to an ever-increasing practice.

We were co-devils in the chambers of Bhulabhai Desai; thus we had many contacts. Later when I came into larger volume of work we were in a sense competitors at the bar. Not infrequently we appeared against each other in important matters and perhaps equally frequently together on the same side also.

I wish I could recall some of the *cause celebre* in which we figured either as collaborators or as opponents. But I have not the record of a diary to assist me and I suffer from a singular lack of memory in regard to matters of this kind.

Perhaps the most notable characteristics of Munshi as a lawyer have been the great subtlety and agility of his mind. He invariably perceived a point with such rapidity that by the time a Judge could put it against him he was fully prepared to meet it and all its implications.

On many an occasion his subtlety of intellect was indeed a disadvantage; for, not infrequently, it prevented him from having a true perspective of the broad aspects of a matter and led him analytically into the numerous branches of the propositions that he was formulating for the acceptance of the court.

The law, as has been so often said, is a jealous mistress. Munshiji had other objects dearer to his heart than his profession. This fact necessarily affected in a measure his achievement at the bar. He had often to rely on material prepared by one or more of the juniors who assisted him in the case. Yet his piercing intellect and quick mind enabled him in a large measure to integrate what had been put before him and present it in a powerfully convincing manner to the court. His work at law, so outstanding and distinguished, would perhaps have been far greater and more remarkable if his prime loyalty had been to the profession. But perhaps the more satisfying fields of ambitious public service have claimed him in an ever-increasing measure during the later years.

I wish I could make this contribution fuller and longer. It is a great privilege to be given the opportunity to participate in however small a measure in the celebration of a landmark in the career of a personality so remarkable whose contemporary I have been for nearly half a century with such pleasant memories and cordial relations.

I cannot close without a word of reference to Lilavati-behn. One cannot think of Munshiji without remembering her. Hers has undoubtedly been a great contribution to the making of what Munshiji has been and is.

I wish them both a life full of years and yet greater usefulness.

AT THE BAR

P. B. VACHHA

Kanaialal Maneklal Munshi entered the Bombay Bar early in 1913, by passing the Advocate (O.S.) examination, then a very rigorous test qualifying local lawyers to practise on the Original Side of the High Court—for long a close and privileged preserve of Barristers only. It was the austere, stately and somnolent era of Chief Justice Basil Scott. The High Court had just completed the first fifty years of its eventful existence; and the times were so peaceful and quiet that nobody dreamt of the cataclysmic events which were soon to shake the world and disrupt the established order.

Munshi took to the profession with characteristic energy and enthusiasm, and set about systematically studying the ways and means of making headway in a peculiarly difficult and fiercely competitive practice. He diligently studied the briefs of his seniors and even old pleadings to learn the methods of eminent draftsmen like Inverarity and Lowndes. He also established useful contacts with solicitors.

However, before long the First World War broke out and upset his plans and calculations; and the prospects became suddenly bleak and depressing for aspiring juniors. From the latter part of 1914 till 1919, there was little work on the Original Side—so much so that for months together, there used to be only one Court sitting on the Original Side with just enough work for half a dozen leaders.

With the Armistice, a brighter era of profit and promise opened. The old order changed with a new Chief Justice (Macleod) of a different temperament and radical methods of disposing judicial work. The suits on the Original Side multiplied ten-fold, demanding as many as six Judges for the Original Side. The position presented a golden opportunity to able, ambitious and earnest aspirants. Munshi seized the occasion with eager hands and made rapid progress. With his talents and energy, he soon became prominent among the promising pupils of the great B.J. Desai, whose chamber he had joined.

Munshi's advocacy was placid, lucid and persuasive; and he relied for effect more on reasoned argument and orderly presentment of his case, than on vehemence and bluster. With an acute and resourceful mind, and extensive knowledge of Law, particularly Hindu Law, he soon made a favourable impression upon the Judges; and there is no question that if he had stuck to the Bar, he would have risen to early eminence. With all his outstanding success at the Bar, in point of fact, Munshi never devoted his attention and energies whole-heartedly to law. From the first, he was too ambitious, restless and volatile to stick to one profit-making pursuit.

During the five lean years from 1914, when there was little to do at the Bar, Munshi turned his attention to other fields of activity, and made his debut in Gujarati literature, which he has since enriched by a series of magnificent historical novels, and dramas. Later, when he was well established at the Bar and had fair prospects of immediate preferment, he rather precipitately plunged into politics and joined the Non-Co-operation Movement. I remember Chief Justice Sir Amberson Marten telling me about 1928: "Look, what Munshi has gone and done! I was just thinking of recommending him for a High Court Judgeship".

Even when Munshi was in busy practice at the Bar, he was so completely taken up with extraneous activities that I often wondered how and when he found time to study his briefs; and yet he was well prepared and able to hold his ground before even difficult Judges—an alert and quick-minded Judge like Macleod, or a meticulously particular and exacting one like Marten. At the Bar, both as a colleague and opponent, Munshi was always pleasant, reasonable and considerate; and he adroitly avoided a clash with unpleasant Judges and Advocates. Like his great predecessor, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Munshi has a broad, tolerant and liberal mind and a simple and friendly nature; and neither his literary nor his legal eminence filled his mind with arrogance and self-conceit—not even the high Government offices which he held later.

Munshi's ambitions and energies were too boundless, his nature too restless and his mind too versatile to be content with one role. His talents and temperament impelled him successively and even simultaneously to become several things and never anything for long. He has undoubtedly been the most versatile member of the Bombay Bar during the last fifty years with multifarious, many-sided activities and

achievements to his credit. His output in various fields of thought and action has been amazing. If not exactly like Dryden's Achitophel, who "was in the course of one revolving moon, soldier, statesman, fiddler and buffoon", Munshi too has been so many things at different times and even at the same time, that he has drawn the wonder and admiration of all those who have watched his Protean career. With advancing years, he has become more sober, sedate and mellow in his outlook. He has seldom subscribed to the fads and fantastic flourishes of nationalist fanatics. He is a happy blend of Oriental and Western cultures, embracing and expressing in his speeches, writings and political poses, what is good in both.

With all his bewildering output in various fields, the mark which Munshi has made on the Bombay Bar is notable and abiding; and if he had chosen to stick to law like his distinguished contemporaries—M.C. Setalvad, H.J. Kania and M.V. Desai he would certainly have risen to high eminence in the sphere of law and justice.

Munshi's versatility and restless energy are reflected in the number and nature of the cases in which he figured. It is difficult to single out for special mention the many cases in which he made a mark as an Advocate. Within ten years of his enrolment, he came into prominence at the Bombay Bar by the competence and learning with which he argued certain abstruse points of Hindu Law—the incidence of an Anuloma marriage, the rights and status of an Avaruddha Stree, and later in the great Raja Bahadur Shivlal Motilal Will Case, he argued the intriguing and intricate question of the validity of partial partition by a Hindu father, with such ability and erudition that he earned the warm encomiums of such great masters of law as Sir Jamshedji Kanga and Bhulabhai Desai.

Before long, his distinction as a lawyer in Bombay combined with his literary fame and political prominence procured for Munshi an all-India practice of the most varied character: Civil, Commercial, Criminal, Constitutional and Political. He roved the country from one end to the other, figuring in many important and sensational cases with marked success. His legal prestige was enhanced by his reputation as a writer, scholar and politician. His scholarship and literature embellished and illuminated his law, and his legal experience enriched his literary works. His knowledge of Indian History, Sanskrit, and

deep study of religions, particularly Hinduism and Jainism, as also his competent knowledge of art, sculpture and temple architecture, stood him in very good stead on several occasions. He scored notable triumphs at Lahore in the *Tribune Contempt Case*, in the *Kesariyaji Temple Case* at Udaipur and the *Lakshmikantam Murder Case* at Madras.

In the curious *Ratlam Conspiracy Case*, Munshi displayed in a rare manner not only his ability and resourcefulness as an Advocate, but great tact and mastery over the methods of counteracting the intricate intrigues of Native States.

It must be emphasised that in many of these important and difficult cases, Munshi, as he acknowledges, had the loyal and competent assistance of his "Devils"—notably J.M. Shelat, now Mr. Justice Shelat.

When, after a fairly long spell of public service as State Minister, Union Minister and Governor, Munshi returned to the Bar and resumed practice, it soon appeared that the interval had not impaired his forensic powers, that his mind had retained its agility, and his right hand of advocacy had not lost its craft or cunning. His professional activities expanded and he began to appear before the Supreme Court in important matters, some of which have made judicial history. One of these was the *Express Newspapers Private Ltd. Case* in which, with his usual ability, he argued the constitutional validity of the Working Journalists (Conditions of Service) and Miscellaneous Provisions Act 1955 and also the legality of certain decisions of the Wage Board. Another important case argued before the Supreme Court was the *Hamdard Dawakhana Case*. In this matter, apart from the legal points involved, Munshi showed the versatility of his mental equipment by the thoroughness with which he expounded the principles of Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine. Another Supreme Court case, which, in a sense, has made judicial history, was what is known as *Mullaji Saheb's Case*. Here Munshi argued with his usual ability and resource the right of religious excommunication exercised by a religious head for the purpose of maintaining discipline in the community. The Mullaji Saheb, who is the spiritual head of the Dawoodi Borah community, claimed this right which was hotly contested by certain sections of the community and was negatived by the High Court. Before the Supreme Court, Munshi clarified the implications and limits of the right of religious freedom and the Appeal was allowed.

But Munshi, after all, belongs to the Bombay Bar. After sundry excursions in diverse fields of activities he has always reverted to the arena of his early struggles and triumphs. Today at 75, when most of his contemporaries are either dead or decrepit or dispersed, his voice is still heard in the Bombay High Court fitfully indeed, but not feebly. He is to be occasionally seen sitting placidly in the Bar Common Room amidst a new turbulent and obstreperous generation of practitioners feeling perhaps like Ovid among the Goths.

FORENSIC TRIUMPHS

J. M. SHELAT

> There are diversities of minds. Fate and temperament lead one man one way, another man another way. To me it was the method of politics which was unattractive. In the controversies of the Law Courts the points at issue are presented with dignified and reasoned arguments and are decided on their merits by impartial arbiters who have no concern but to do rightly and justly. The battles of politics, on the other hand, are fought amidst din and clamour. Fallacious arguments and deceiving half truths are banded to and fro and the still small voice of reason makes little appeal, while the decision is left to the mass of the electorate, many of whom have heard only one side and few of whom are unbiased by personal interests and prejudices. The infallibility of the majority, the divinity of the *vox populi,* which is the basis of party government, has always seemed to me a dubious doctrine. And so my two brief incursions into the political sphere served to convince me that it was not my sphere. On quitting it finally I cast no longing, lingering looks behind.
>
> Lord Macmillan, '*A Man of Law's Tale*'—181-182.

Law has been in the veins of the Munshis. Munshi's great grand-father Karsondas Munshi was a distinguished lawyer who for some time was Government Pleader of the *Sadar* Court at Surat and later the *Sadar Amin* of Thana. His grandfather Narbheram was also a lawyer. Though Munshi's father Maneklal digressed from the hereditary path and served in the revenue department, there were at the time not less than five or six lawyers in Munshi's family. He made good his deviation by furnishing his son to the profession.

In July, 1910, Munshi passed his LL.B. examination and on the 22nd of the month, he arrived in Bombay to receive his law degree. He went to see Manchhashanker, the brother of Jamietram, the founder of the famous firm of attorneys, Messrs Matubhai Jamietram & Madan. While he was there, a well-groomed gentleman peeped in and greeted the latter. The young man went away after bidding Manchhashanker good night. Manchhashanker turned towards Munshi and said that that was Bhulabhai Desai, once a professor at Ahmedabad and now

an advocate making about Rs. 4000/- a month. "Why don't you become an advocate like him?" said Manchhashanker. By sheer accident thus Bhulabhai entered the life of young Munshi and indirectly contributed in a large degree to his future way in life. Recording this accidental meeting, Munshi himself has said, "Can this be called an accident? Bhulabhai and I have always been chained together, willy-nilly, like two stars equidistant and yet near, roaming in the limitless sky—separate from each other and yet joined together by a magnetic force".

In October 1910, he decided to join the profession and started preparing for the Advocate's Examination. In February 1913, he appeared for this examination. The natural diffidence, born of mofussil breeding and atmosphere, would not permit his natural self to grow and develop. He complained in a letter to a friend that there was little hope for success. But at Matheran where he had gone for his first vacation, he received on the 11th of March the news that he had successfully passed through the trial. He had now become an advocate and would join the great and reputed line of Inverarity, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Sir Jamshedji Kanga.

A few days later he found himself in somebody's borrowed gown and bands being enrolled before Mr. Justice Beaman. He had taken the final plunge, setting behind himself the soulless provincial routine, knowing that he would be splintering lances with some of the ablest men of his generation.

Jamietram in his characteristic way had arranged for his first brief from Messrs Shamrao Minochehar and Hiralal, Solicitors, to enable him to make his maiden appearance. Apart from being an astute attorney, Jamietram possessed certain outstanding qualities which would have stood him in good stead in any profession or occupation he would have chosen to follow. He breathed strength of self-confidence, orderliness and was a pillar of strength to his clients and his brother solicitors. He took amazing delight in influencing other people's lives. During his career as an attorney, he moulded and repaired the broken fortunes of many a client. Jamietram now commenced taking interest in Munshi which meant that he had decided to take in hand the making of the career of the young lawyer. He and his nephew Narmadashankar, of Messrs Manchershaw and Narmadashankar, started send-

ing small briefs to Munshi. Jamietram also decided that the young lawyer should best join the chambers of Bhulabhai Desai, although Munshi, as irony would have it, would have joined Jinnah's chamber.

On the 12th of June 1913, Jamietram took the nervous self-diffident Munshi to Bhulabhai's chamber. He was duly introduced and then was left to make his way as best as he could in the famous chamber. That evening the master told the pupil: "Lowndes told me what I am telling you. If you will be useful to me, I will likewise be useful to you". Thus began the relationship between the two men which was to endure for a number of years.

It was not until July 1913 that the young man got his first responsible brief and appeared before Chief Justice Scott in an appeal from the Thana Court. When Munshi arrived in the Court he found to his great concern that he was being opposed by no less a person than the Advocate-General, Sir Thomas Strangman. Strangman used then to be the terror of the Junior Bar, sometimes to the Bench as well, and was inclined like many a counsel to interfere when the other side was arguing. Conducting a first case is always a nervous affair and like every other junior going through that ordeal, Munshi fumbled and mis-stated a fact or two. Up stood Strangman and with a sneer in his voice corrected him. In spite of the nervousness and diffidence, the ordeal had been gone through fairly well and the Chief Justice had shown a sympathetic response. A few days later, Jamshedji Kanga (later Sir Jamshedji) and now the doyen of the Bombay Bar strolled into the library and greeted the young lawyer. "Are you Munshi?" "Yes', said the thrilled advocate. "You conducted a case before Scott a few days ago?" "Yes". "He has formed a good opinion about you. ....He remembered you when he was making appointments of Law Professors, but you are so much of a junior". Though nothing concrete occurred, it was thrilling to the fresher to be remembered and mentioned by the august Chief Justice.

The first year rolled away eventlessly except for the random appeals received from some friends from the mofussil and a few briefs contrived by Jamietram and his friends. Yet the fee book for the year 1913, showed a gross receipt of Rs. 1150/-, a figure not bad for a new recruit.

Before he enrolled himself at the Bar, Munshi had joined the

Articled Clerks' Association and had come to know some of the members of the Association who subsequently became solicitors. One of them was the late Mr. B.G. Kher who at this time was the Secretary to Mr. Justice Beaman. Owing to some eye trouble Beaman was not able to see properly, much less to read, but the Judge was a keen scholar and an ardent lover of books. Kher used to read to him and spend most of the time with the Judge and even accompanied him on one of his European tours. Through Kher, Munshi came into personal contact with the Judge and whenever he appeared before him, the Judge treated him with kind encouragement.

It was before Mr. Justice Beaman that Munshi had his first big case on the original side. A grass merchant had died leaving behind him two widows, a mistress, a son by the mistress and property worth about 5 lakhs of rupees. The mistress claimed that she was the legally wedded wife of the deceased and her son was his legitimate child and heir to the fortune. Rustom Wadia was then considered by the attorneys as a favourite of Beaman and was, therefore, in great demand in that Court. Munshi was briefed in this case as the junior of Rustom Wadia for the mistress and her son. Munshi plunged himself into this case with great enthusiasm, making preparations for the impending trial, meeting his solicitor every morning and evening. The junior used to complain to the solicitor that there was neither the requisite evidence nor preparation and the solicitor used to counsel patience, assuring him that everything would be ready at the proper time. One day the junior said that if his client was the wedded wife there must be some evidence of marriage. The solicitor turned to his clerk and asked him where that evidence was. The clerk complacently replied: "I will bring the witness to-night". "But," said the counsel, "there must be invitation cards and the priest who performed the wedding". The clerk again assured him that he would bring that evidence also the next day. When the motley crowd of witnesses was brought before Rustom Wadia, he turned to his junior saying that he felt that there was something wrong somewhere. Anyway the trial commenced and witness after witness, all of them, needless to say, eye-witnesses to the marriage, went in and out of the witness-box, each narrating the picturesque story in detail to the surprise of the other side. As it happens in the majority of such cases, the case was ultimately compromised and the mistress, though her ambition of being adjudicated

the legally wedded wife could not be fulfilled, received a fair amount and so did the precious heir.

Soon after this case Munshi got himself engaged in an election case of the Rander Municipality. When the train started for Surat, Munshi found in the next compartment his old friend, Strangman, who still terrified the young lawyer. Munshi mustered up courage and addressed the District Judge for four hours. Strangman had only to address the Court for half an hour to win. The only reward that Munshi received was a packet of Surat Sweets but he had to pay his own railway fare back.

How dextrous old Jamietram could be is illustrated by a brief which Munshi received in an undefended long cause. Like many a junior he had thought that the plaint he had drafted could not possibly have any defence. The plaintiff claimed conjugal rights complaining that his wife had deserted him and had taken along with her ornaments, which, according to this innocent victim of domestic cruelty, were of the value of Rs. 50,000/-. No written statement had been filed and thinking that he could obtain the decree with ease, Munshi entered the Court room of Mr. Justice Beaman and found to his consternation not the defendant but Jamietram brooding there in a menacing fashion. "Are you taking a decree in this case?" asked Jamietram. "Oh Yes, of course". "All right. Let's see how you take it", said the old solicitor. All the fervour with which Munshi had entered the Court room vanished and in its place he found some implied threat in the voice of Jamietram.

The plaintiff was ushered into the witness-box, his cap tilted on one side, a lump of betel leaf in his mouth and his whole appearance distorted by a long tongue lolling out from one side of his mouth. "Are you the plaintiff in this suit?" began Munshi. But instead of looking at his counsel, the aggrieved husband turned to the Judge. "My Lord", came his voice in a slow rolling way, "murder committed —my father-in-law—by Jamietram Solicitor and M. T. Diwan of Bhavnagar". Then only Munshi realised why Jamietram was there. "My Lord", said the counsel, "the witness does not understand English and needs aid of an interpreter". The Judge by now was interested in the husband and wished to probe into the murder mystery. A smile lit up the Judge's face. Rustom Wadia, who was watching this spectacle

with considerable interest, whispered to Munshi to pray for the withdrawal of the suit with liberty to file a fresh suit. Munshi's attorney had already vanished and the Judge announced that counsel could not do anything better in the circumstances than to withdraw the suit.

Between 1913 and 1918 small briefs began to come to him at intermittent intervals but there was none yet which would give him a chance to make his mark. He utilised this interval by planning an elaborate programme for equipping himself with the necessary qualifications of a good lawyer, collecting a number of pleadings drafted by eminent counsel. He added some done by Bhulabhai himself. He mastered also such works as Daniel's *Chancery Practice*, Roscoe's *Evidence in Civil Action* and Seton on *Orders and Decrees*.

Fascinated by the sonorous style of the Privy Council Judgments, he took them as models of legal expression and began to read each volume from 1914 backwards, studying, analysing and summarising the points dealt with in each important judgment. He kept a note book in which he noted down the leading cases from these volumes and by the time he gave up this practice in later years, he had in this notebook about 400 to 500 of the leading cases in English and Indian law. The result was that important legal principles got crystallized in his memory and the leading cases noted down in his diary became immediately available to him whenever an occasion arose.

During the vacations he used to take a leading judgment from one of these volumes and analysing it on paper, set some of its phraseology against each point and standing before a mirror tried to address himself on that case in the language or order used in the Privy Council judgment. This practice gave him command over legal phraseology, which in later years enabled him to formulate clear and lucid propositions of law and fact.

By 1922 he was in stride and came to be recognised as a dependable junior. From this time onward he came into close touch with that great judge, Sir Lallubhai Shah. Sir Lallubhai's main contribution as a judge lay in his well considered judgments on questions of Hindu law. When exploring an abstruse point, he appeared a physicist probing some astral problem to his own satisfaction, if not to that of any one else. It was said of him that on his being raised to

the Bench, he commenced learning Sanskrit with the aid of a *Shastri* and in course of time mastered the *Dharmashastras.*

One of the earliest cases which gave Munshi a chance to demonstrate his deep interest in Hindu Shastras was the case of *Bai Gulab v Jeevanlal* (24 Bom. L.R. 5).

Bai Gulab was a daughter by a Vaishya father and a Shudra mother. When she came of age the father ceased to care for her and a Bhatia lady took her under her wing and got her married to a Vaishya watch-repairer. A week or so after the marriage Gulab left her husband, who then filed a suit claiming conjugal rights. The case came up for hearing before Kajiji J. Bhulabhai appeared for the husband against Munshi. The principal contention on behalf of the wife was that she was the daughter of a Shudra woman by a Vaishya, and, therefore, a Shudra and that her marriage with the Vaishya being Anuloma was prohibited by Hindu law. The contention, however, did not meet favour with the Judge who held the marriage valid. It would appear that the Judge was somewhat put off by the wife having rejected his suggestion to settle the matter. At 2.30 that afternoon, still perturbed by that refusal the Judge ordered that Gulab should forthwith go to her husband. Munshi had anticipated this and had actually drawn up the grounds of appeal. He asked for time to appeal and in the meantime prayed for stay of the order. The Judge would have none of it but ultimately he was persuaded to give one hour in which to get the stay order from the Appeal Court.

Rushing to the chamber of Chief Justice McLeod, he narrated the facts and asked for the indulgence to produce a manuscript memo of appeal as there was no time to have the grounds of appeal typed. The Chief Justice understood the situation and allowed Munshi to apply in the open Court at 3-30 P.M. Strangman came to oppose the application for stay but the Chief Justice was inclined to grant the stay order as the case was one where the very marriage was disputed. The appeal came on for hearing before McLeod C. J. and Sir Lallubhai. Munshi was opposed by Jinnah. Sir Lallubhai at once got interested in the point raised on behalf of the wife. For two days, the Judge and the counsel were absorbed in the mysteries of *Mitakshara, Mayukha* and the *Dharmashastras.* The Division Bench ultimately held that the *anuloma* marriage was not one prohibited by Hindu law

and that decision has still remained undisturbed as a leading landmark in the development of Hindu law.

Another such case fell into his brief bag a few days after Gulab's case was over. A *nayakin,* Nagubai by name, claimed to be the *avaruddha stree* of a deceased rich man and filed a suit for maintenance against the widow and the children of the deceased. The trial Judge was Mr. Justice Kanga. Munshi who appeared for the defendants argued that the deceased had relations with other women, apart from the plaintiff and that the defendants had no knowledge that the plaintiff was a permanent or a temporary concubine. The trial Judge negatived this contention and the suit was taken to the Appeal Court consisting of Sir Lallubhai Shah, then the acting Chief Justice, and Crump J. Munshi argued that although the Hindu *shastras* recognised the right of an *avaruddha stree* to maintenance and placed her on a footing analogous to a married woman, a mere concubine had no recognition and that in order to be so entitled the concubine should have attained the status of an *avaruddha stree,* by being accepted by the deceased's family. A concubine kept in a hole and corner fashion was not the *avaruddha stree* contemplated by Hindu law. Sir Lallubhai got interested in this argument and began to cite ancient texts which even counsel had not produced. The Chief Justice accepted the view that if that was not the position, it would be impossible for the legal representatives of the deceased to prove that the concubine was not a permanent or an exclusively kept mistress. The Appellate Court sustained the validity of the argument and reversed the judgment of the trial Court. (*Monghibai v. Nagubai,* 24 Bom. L.R. 1009). The case, however, was taken to the Privy Council where Lord Darling favoured a secular rather than the scriptural view. "Whoever heard of a family accepting a concubine? Would the members of the deceased's family in this modern world ever accept and recognise such a concubine?" he asked and set aside the decision of the Appellate Court. (*Nagubai v. Monghibai,* 53 I.A. 1553).

From the point of view of the surviving relations of the deceased, the view of Sir Lallubhai was perhaps correct, though involving a stricter interpretation of the law. If the recognition of the concubine by the deceased's family was not made a necessary ingredient, it was possible that such relations might become the victims of false litigations.

These two cases established the reputation of Munshi as a serious student of Hindu law.

But the Hindu law was not the only field in which Munshi gathered prestige. During the First World War there had been a great spate of speculation in Japanese textiles. Certain groups of merchants in Bombay, in the latter part of 1918, got themselves heavily involved in such dealings and more particularly in what was known as Nine Dragon Japanese Longcloth. It was believed generally that the war would still continue for another two years. Every day marked big fluctuations in prices and thousands of bales changed hands and merchants every day counted their profits in lacs of rupees, all of course on paper. But the bales were nowhere to be seen in the market and no one intended or thought of giving or taking delivery. To the consternation of these merchants the war suddenly came to an end in 1918 and there was a resulting crash in the prices. The High Court became flooded with commercial disputes of every kind involving a variety of legal points.

These commercial matters came up for hearing from 1920 and onwards and were taken up by Chief Justice Mcleod, reputed for his quick disposal of matters. On an average fifteen to twenty of these commercial suits used to be disposed of every day by that quick-witted Judge and in the bustle of these cases both Munshi and Kania (later on Sir Harilal Kania) had a considerable share.

By now Munshi had well established himself on the ladder of success. His engagement in Raja Bahadur Bansilal's case established him as the leader of the junior Bar. Raja Bahadur Shivlal Motilal was a businessman in a large way and a multi-millionaire of Hyderabad. He died leaving behind him a son Bansilal and several grandsons. Disputes arose between Bansilal and his two elder sons over the partition of the joint family property. In 1922 the case came up for hearing before Mr. Justice Pratt. Jinnah and Bhulabhai appeared for the plaintiffs, the elder sons of Bansilal. Jamshedji Kanga appeared for Bansilal and Munshi and Kania were briefed as junior counsel.

Was a Hindu father entitled to separate only one of his sons without severing the joint status between himself and the rest of his sons? That was the bone of contention. It was argued for the plaintiffs that the father had no such right to effect a partial partition as regards some of his sons and that if he separated one son, there should be a

total partition between him and all the sons. Prof. Gharpure, reputed for his studies in *Dharmashastras* was helping the plaintiffs. Besides this scholastic interest the case was a landmark in the history of the Bombay Bar. The action involved large stakes and the parties being well known residents of Bombay, the case at once became a *cause celebre.* When the appearances of some dozen counsel were mentioned, Pratt J. exclaimed: "Where is the rest of the Bar?" Jinnah and Kanga finished their addresses and then came Munshi's turn.

Unknown to his solicitor, Munshi had been calling a *shastri* at his residence and with his help had gone through the original texts. Tracing the father's right from the Vedic texts down to the *Mayukha,* he took the Court step by step through the complicated labyrinth of citations. In the heat of the argument he forgot his juniority and the diffidence from which he still used to suffer and formulated an elaborate argument before the impressed Court. At the end of the second day of his address when he sat down it was apparent that both the Court and the spectators were convinced that the performance was something out of the ordinary. His solicitor was amazed at the arguments which did not form part of his instructions and was overjoyed at the feat of his counsel. Jamshedji Kanga who always glories in an able exposition of law by his juniors was characteristically effusive in his appreciation. Even Bhulabhai shook his pupil's hands. The suit was however settled and did not find a place in the Law Reports. This gallant effort served as a landmark in the career of Munshi and gave him a place as the reputed member of the Junior Bar. It focussed on him the attention of several firms of solicitors, who, until then, were not briefing him.

There was no respite for Munshi even after he had completed this heavy case, for, he found himself soon attending to a misfeasance summons against the directors of the Anglo-India Steam Navigation Co. Ltd. The thing that gave popular savour to this litigation was the fact that one of the Directors of the company was a very young son of Mr. Justice Kajiji, then on the Bench. The Judge himself was involved in the case. Jamshedji with Bhulabhai Desai were for the liquidator while Sir Chimanlal, V. F. Taraporevala and Munshi appeared separately for one or the other directors. The case lasted for a month and a half requiring gruelling industry on the part of counsel. During the pendency of the case Mrs. Munshi fell seriously ill and

Munshi had to conduct the case under severe mental strain. As the case progressed, so did the condition of Mrs. Munshi become steadily grave and it reached a critical stage about the time that his turn came to address the Court. Throughout this period Mrs. Munshi lay unconscious and the doctors reported her as sinking. It was in this distressed state of mind that Munshi had to address the Court for four days. At last his address was over. He ran straight to his dying wife. Two days later, Mrs. Munshi breathed her last.

The case of *Chand Chhap Kesar* in which Jamietram briefed him along with Bhulabhai put his knowledge of book-keeping and accounts to a severe test. A large business in saffron was conducted by an old widow, whose constant adviser was Jamietram. Her muccadam, instructed to take delivery of some cases of saffron which had arrived from Spain, got certain papers signed by her ostensibly for taking delivery from the Port Trust authorities. When these cases were demanded by the lady's firm, the muccadam alleged that they were pledged with him to secure repayment of Rs. 20,000/- advanced by him to the firm. The muccadam produced a document signed by the lady purporting to be a pledge. The lady was practically illiterate and did not exactly know the kind of document which she had signed at the instance of the muccadam. The books of accounts produced by the muccadam apparently supported the loan of Rs. 20,000/- to the firm. In the absence of Strangman and Bhulabhai who led him in this case, Munshi conducted the case. Though his seniors took a pessimistic view of the case, Munshi shared Jamietram's optimism that the widow had on the whole a fair chance of success. The case went on for a fortnight. The books produced by the muccadam appeared at first sight to be in perfect order but on a closer scrutiny Munshi found that an elaborate set of entries had been made to provide therein the necessary balance of Rs. 20,000/-.

A detailed inquiry for two or three days disclosed the key to the mystery. Crump J. followed the arguments with considerable patience. It was a matter of touch and go and ultimately the muccadam's action was dismissed. The muccadam went in appeal. This time Bhulabhai appeared for the widow leading Munshi. Prepossessed as he was that the widow had no sustainable case, it became difficult for his junior and his attorney to shake him from his view of the account books. Within two hours the Appeal Court reversed the judgment of the trial

Court. The widow went to the Privy Council where Sir George Lowndes K. C. appearing for her subjected the disputed entries to an intensive scrutiny and addressed that august body on those entries for a number of days. The Privy Council upheld the view taken by the trial Judge and reversed the judgment of the Appeal Court. By a curious coincidence, McLeod C. J. who presided over the Appeal Court happened to be present in the Privy Council and witnessed the reversal of his judgment. Jamietram felt elated, for his confidence in his junior counsel stood fully justified.

Mr. Justice Beaman had for some time been holding the *Tejimandi* transactions to be no more than wagering contracts. In some of the cases where Munshi appeared before him he had felt that the judge's temperamental horror of Marwari businessmen had prevented him from perceiving the true nature of the transactions. The case of *Manubhai v. Keshavji* (24 Bom. L.R. 60) which came up before Mr. Justice Kincaid gave him the chance. Fortunately, the Judge was free from any preconceptions. But he had to be taken, for weeks together through detailed evidence and a number of account books in order to combat the prevailing notion that these contracts were by their nature wagering. Kincaid J. accepted this view. Even the Appeal Court upheld this view revising the trend of judicial opinion which had persisted for several years. This success brought him a number of briefs in similar commercial matters concerning linseed and other commodities. Between the years 1919-1930 there was scarcely a branch of law which Munshi did not touch. It was during this period that he strode into the array of senior counsel.

Interested as he was in Hindu Shastras, Munshi has always revelled in cases dealing with religious controversy. In 1936 he had to deal with one such case relating to the famous temple of Kesariyaji in Udaipur State.

In the early part of the 19th century the flagstaff of this temple had fallen down and the *Svetambar* Jains, who held considerable power in the State at the time, put up a new flagstaff. After about a century that flagstaff too broke down. By that time the *Svetambars* had lost much of their original power and influence and the *Digambars* now came forward to exercise the privilege of hoisting the flagstaff. Riots followed. The State appointed a Committee of Inquiry to decide the

rival contentions. In the meantime the State put up its on flagstaff. The *Svetambars* instructed Mr. M. C. Setalvad (at present the Attorney General of India) and the *Digambars* engaged Munshi. The issue was, which of the two sects had founded this celebrated temple.

The inquiry involved study of several Jain *shastras*, the nature of the temple's architecture, the genealogies of some of the more important Jain *sadhus* who had worshipped there and a number of inscriptions which devout pilgrims had inscribed on the temple walls during the last several years.

Udaipur until then had been a sealed book to Munshi. Its ancient atmosphere, together with the reminiscences of the gallant Pratap and his band of warriors and the total isolation of the State from the modern world, enraptured the historical interest in Munshi and the research, partly historical and partly legal, which he had to undertake in this case totally absorbed his mind. The inquiry went on for a considerable time. To those who heard him, Munshi's performance both as a legal as well as a historical argument appeared to be one of his best. Even Muni Jinavijayji, who was instructing Mr. Motilal Setalvad against the *Digambars*, admitted that Munshi's interpretation of the Jain *shastras* was impressive. The Civilian Member of the Inquiry Committee complimented Munshi heartily and before he left for England informed him that the Committee had decided in his favour. The report of the Committee, however, remained shelved in the archives of the State. The State flag continued to fly on the flagstaff and not until 1947, when Munshi was invited by the Maharana to be his honorary Constitutional Adviser, did the report see the day.

A new branch of practice lay open to the profession in 1939 when Income Tax Tribunals came to be established under the new Income Tax Act. This kind of practice especially suited the genius of Munshi. From the time that the new Tribunals came into being, he began to appear in a large number of Income Tax cases not only in Bombay but also in other parts of the country and became almost a fixture in one or the other tribunal for months at a stretch. He had soon, however, to give up his practice as he joined the first Congress Government as the Home Minister. The Second World War ended the experiment of popular Government and with that Munshi returned to the profession.

Shortly after the outbreak of the war the Government of India armed themselves with extraordinary powers through the Defence of India Act. When the 'Quit India' movement was inaugurated in 1942, a crop of new ordinances was brought out under the guise of quelling a subversive movement. The new ordinances threatened to throttle political life and public activity of any kind. The situation threw upon Munshi the burden of resisting the new laws and his effort towards that end became almost a veritable crusade in defence of personal liberty and political rights.

In the cases he now took up Munshi brought out not only his skill as a lawyer but often an element of smashing surprise. One of the first of these cases was in connection with the warrant of arrest for contempt of Court issued by the Allahabad High Court against Mr. B. G. Horniman, the then editor of the *Bombay Sentinel*. Munshi's contention was that the Allahabad High Court had no jurisdiction to issue such a warrant in other provinces. Evidently, no such warrant had been issued previously and when that contention was placed before the High Court at Bombay, it took every one concerned by surprise. The High Court decided in favour of Munshi's contention. The judgment created quite a sensation in the country. When the warrant was ultimately returned unexecuted, Horniman, with his characteristic impertinence, wrote in his paper that the Allahabad High Court would have to wait long before they got him to the United Provinces.

One of the most sensational cases in which Munshi appeared during this period was the case known as the *Tribune Contempt Case*. The case was heard by a full bench of the Lahore High Court consisting of Sir Trevor Harris, C. J. and Munir and Teja Singh JJ. The charges of contempt against the *Tribune* concerned:

(1) the publication of comments on the arrest of A.C. Bali under the heading "Arrest made on flimsy grounds",

(2) the publication of the proceedings of the hearing of the *Habeas Corpus* petition filed by P. L. Sondhi in Lahore High Court for the production of Bali in that Court and some observations attributed to Munir J. and

(3) the publication of the news item regarding the transfer application in the Court of Munir J. under the heading "Lawyer insulted".

Before he attended the Court his friends in the Bar were exercised over the question whether he would appear with a Gandhi cap on, which had been prohibited within the Court premises by a notification. His host, Sir Manoharlal, then a minister and a trustee of the *Tribune*, was also anxious about the cap. When leaving for the Court, he gave Munshi a mild hint as to the wisdom of his appearing in the Court with a Gandhi cap on. Munshi said he would and told him that if any objection was taken to his cap, he would apply for an adjournment of the case till such time as the trustees of the *Tribune* were able to engage another lawyer.

The Court room was crowded to capacity. He made his appearance and thanked the Chief Justice for permitting him to appear before the Court. The Chief Justice made a pleasant remark of welcome. The cap stood the test!

For several days counsel went into the law of Contempt of Court. The Chief Justice was "pleasant, informal, clear-headed, open-minded and courteous" but Munir J. appeared to be somewhat put off by the very fact that his judgment was being challenged. The atmosphere soon became a little tense. A breeze was anticipated when Munir J. exclaimed, "Why should the papers publish the comments of a Judge? For their own safety they should publish only the judgments". "If your Lordship's view was accepted, the liberty of the Press would be in jeopardy and the meaning and purpose of proceedings in open Court would be lost", said the counsel. "Justice is not a handmaid of journalists," retorted the Judge. "Neither, My Lord, is it a cloistered virtue that cannot stand the public gaze", replied the counsel. *The Tribune Case* ended in a majority judgment in Munshi's favour, Munir J. dissenting. The judgment of the Chief Justice has become a leading authority on this branch of the law. (A.I.R. 1942 Lah. 329).

Munshi had soon to return to Lahore in connection with the *Habeas Corpus* petition of Jayprakash Narain. Jayprakash Narain had been originally detained under Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules. When the *Habeas Corpus* application was filed on his behalf by Mr. H. R. Pardiwala of the Bombay Bar, the Lahore Police arrested Pardiwala himself. The Government of Punjab, finding that it could not resist the petition, sought relief in Regulation III of 1818 and

declared Jayprakash Narain a state prisoner. This took away the *jurisdiction of the Court to interfere in the case.*

But the case of Pardiwala took an amazing turn. He had been taken under arrest as soon as he came out of the High Court building after filing the *Habeas Corpus* petition for Jayprakash Narain and detained under Rule 26 for about three days in jail by the Lahore Police under harassing conditions. This created a first class furore throughout the country.

On his way to Lahore for arguing the case of Jayprakash Narain, Munshi realised that there was no case to argue. But Pardiwala and some other friends wanted him to proceed to Lahore even if for no other purpose than to submit that there was no case. During the journey, Munshi drafted a petition against the D.I.G., C.I.D., of the Punjab and the Superintendent, C.I.D. as also the Inspector for arresting Pardiwala while discharging his duty as an advocate and for withholding from the High Court of Lahore his *Habeas Corpus* petition made while he was in jail. Reaching the High Court, Munshi applied for a rule for contempt against the three officers mentioned in the petition filed by him. Munshi's move fell like a bombshell for the Punjab police who had at that time managed to acquire a sinister reputation.

When Munshi went again to argue the application, the question arose as to when Pardiwala's petition to the Court for *Habeas Corpus* sent from the jail was dated. The three officers concerned strangely had remained absent. The Advocate General could only state that he would make inquiry. The Chief Justice was, however, annoyed and the three officers were immediately summoned. They instructed the Advocate General to say that the petition had been destroyed. Fortunately Pardiwala had all throughout maintained a diary in which he had noted that he had submitted his *Habeas Corpus* application on a particular day. The Court gave liberty to Munshi to ask questions to these officers. Munshi was in a position to elicit from the cross-examination of Superintendent Robinson, who was then regarded more or less as a power in Lahore, that the police had withheld from the High Court Pardiwala's application. The Superintendent and the Inspector were ordered to pay a fine of Rs. 50/- each and the Court gave a stern warning to the police not to trifle with petitions made by

detenus to the High Court. The Court also held that Pardiwala at the time when he was arrested was discharging his duty as a counsel. The case of Pardiwala created a sensation in the Punjab and the police authorities felt extremely crest-fallen.

Recording his impressions as a spectator to these arguments, Mr. S. K. Shastri, Barrister-in-law, then practising in the Lahore High Court wrote as follows:—

> "The events I am recalling occurred about three years ago (1946). Yet they are fresh in my mind. Watching Munshi develop his arguments in Courts, one felt at once that one was confronted with a powerful and fearless personality having a splendid intellect and a profoundly judicial mind...... In a firm yet restrained language he would formulate his points, rebuking where rebuke was called for and at times conceding with a grace that disarmed all opposition and dissent...... He never said anything that was redundant or superfluous".

No sooner these cases were over than Munshi was called upon to look into the grim occurrences of Chimur, Ashti and Ramtek. In August 1942, these villages suddenly drew countrywide attention by certain Government officers having been killed by the mobs there and by their having indulged in arson and looting. Some of the Draconian measures adopted by the Government of the Central Provinces in the wake of these incidents made the situation in that province more bitter than ever.

In Ramtek the Government treasury was looted by a mob. In Chimur a Government officer was done to death. Almost identical events took place in Ashti, a prosperous town in Wardha.

The trials were scheduled to take place in October 1942. Special Judges were appointed under the Special Criminal Courts Ordinance to try these cases. Smt. Jankidevi Bajaj sent a messenger to Bombay requesting Munshi to take up the defence in these cases. Munshi with A. C. Amin went to defend the accused in the Chimur case and J. H. Dave and I went for the Ashti case. Both the cases were lengthy affairs and occupied more than two months.

While we were comfortably lodged in the Bajaj Wadi at Wardha, Munshi had to stay in Chanda where no arrangement worth the name was made for his stay. It was amusing to see Munshi with his junior

living in one room on the ground floor of a building till then used as a grocer's shop. Possibly none in the town could invite so dangerous a person as counsel for the accused in the Chimur case.

While the Chimur trial was still going on, Munshi was asked to attend to an application in the High Court at Nagpur for a writ of *Habeas Corpus* (*Sitao, Jholia and others* v. *King Emperor,* A.I.R. 1943 Nag. 36), challenging the validity of the Special Criminal Courts Ordinance of 1942 and the Special Courts established thereunder. This was the first attempt in the country to impugn the validity of the Ordinance, a piece of legislation which in those days was more hated by the public than any other. Finding this application as a precedent many a lawyer in other Courts in the country filed such applications. The controversy was finally decided by the Federal Court holding the obnoxious Ordinance invalid.

The Chimur case became more notorious in the country than the Ashti case owing to the gruelling fast undertaken by Prof. Bhansali. He was determined not to end his fast until the C. P. Government promised to hold an independent inquiry into the cases of alleged rape by soldiers in Chimur. During this great ordeal of Prof. Bhansali, Munshi carried on an intensive campaign of publicity drawing the attention of the country to the problem of Chimur.

After the passing of the 'Quit India' Resolution of the 8th of August 1942 some of the left wing Congressmen in Bombay went underground under the leadership of Purshottam Trikamdas. P.T., as he was popularly known amongst his intimates, successfully evaded the Bombay C.I.D. for a long time but was ultimately arrested on November 19, 1942, at Bandra. The Government of Bombay passed an order detaining him under Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules and transferred him to the Lahore Central Jail. Later in 1945 when P.T. was transferred to Yervada Jail after having experienced life in a couple of jails in Punjab, in solitary confinement in one of them, the Government sought further to continue his detention under the Restriction and Detention Ordinance of 1944. He sent in an *Habeas Corpus* petition to the High Court of Bombay. Munshi's eye caught the fatal defect in the order. The Government had been continuing a superseded order and keeping P.T. in jail unlawfully. Munshi argued the petition on behalf of P.T. before a Division Bench of the High Court

of Bombay packed with the Advocates and friends of P.T. His contentions were upheld and P.T. was set at liberty forthwith. No one in the vast crowd was gladder to see him again at liberty than Munshi.

Of the several cases which Munshi dealt since then, he regards three cases, the *Pushpa* Case, the *Ratlam Conspiracy* Case and the *Lakshmikantam Murder* Case, as his notable performances. The first dealt with the law of marriages among the Hindus. The second was a political conspiracy case where the accused were charged with trying to overthrow the Government of the then Ratlam State. The third was a murder trial. One took place at Bombay, another at Ratlam and the third at Madras. Though of different nature, the three of them had certain things in common. First it looked as if the case for Munshi's clients in all the three of them stood no chance of success. Secondly, each of them created a great deal of sensation and thirdly, there was an element of surprise in each by which Munshi obtained success for his clients.

Pushpa was the daughter of a rich merchant in Bombay. At a very tender age she was attracted to a boy of her own caste who was alleged to have induced her to leave her house and the custody of her parents. They had gone through some kind of marriage in a chawl at Parel in Bombay and immediately left for Poona. Her running away had given a great shock and distress to her orthodox parents and they made a search for the girl and through the assistance of some friends persuaded her to return to the house. Realising the distress caused to her parents by her somewhat impulsive action, she declined to return to the young man. An arrangement was arrived at under which the young man was given an opportunity to see the girl and it was agreed that if he succeeded in winning her back the parents would consent to her being properly married to him. Though the young man failed to win her, he filed a suit in the High Court of Bombay for a declaration that there was a valid and binding marriage between him and the girl.

Munshi was instructed to appear on behalf of the girl. In the initial stages there prevailed a feeling that rich and orthodox parents were breaking up the romance of the two young lovers. Munshi had made a condition before accepting the brief that he would appear only if the girl independently of any parental influence, convinced him that she wanted to resist the alleged marriage. This she did.

The main question was whether the parties had gone through the marriage ceremony which the Hindu law prescribed. Munshi had prepared himself with all the texts prescribing the details of all the necessary ceremonies. He got a chance when the sealed bundles containing the photographs of the marriage ceremony were opened. He detected in the photographs what had escaped the attention of every one concerned in the case.

He cross-examined the plaintiff at some length on all aspects of the case except the marriage ceremony itself. Even the Judge asked Munshi as to why he did not at once come to the ceremony part of the case. But there was a calculated strategy in what Munshi was doing. After two days' cross-examination he looked at the clock; 40 minutes still remained before the recess when he let himself go. He did not want his opponent to have any opportunity of re-examining after the recess. Commencing this part of the cross-examination he led the plaintiff to depose that all the necessary ceremonies had been performed. The plaintiff had prepared himself well and described in some detail the ceremonies supposed to have been performed. Counsel encouraged him to give all the details of the rituals, and the plaintiff who was ready with such details was chuckling at the gaps in the examination-in-chief being filled in by the opposing counsel. The young man had given complete details of the ceremony as the *shastras* prescribed. Then followed the crucial questions:

Q: "I take it that the sacred fire was on the *chori* (little mud platform). I take it that it was burning in front of you and the defendant."

A: "Yes".

Q: "I take it that the size was the usual one, about five inches by five inches?"

A: "Yes".

Q: "The fire I take it was burning all throughout the ceremony?

A: "Yes".

Q: "Are you sure that the fire was burning throughout the ceremony?"

A: "Certainly, yes".

Munshi looked at the clock. Half an hour was still to go for the recess. He took up a photograph of the marriage ceremony and presented it to the plaintiff.

> Q: "Will you show to the Court in this photograph where the fire is and where the Varuna (brass *lota* with coconut) is placed?"

The plaintiff looked at the photograph, saw the blunder he had committed and was immediately taken aback. The photograph only showed a glass tumbler in front of the wedding pair. There was no brass *lota* (Varuna) and no mud platform (*Chori*). Up came the question, "where is the fire?" The plaintiff was asked to point out from the photograph. He looked like a drowning man willing to clutch at anything available. He spotted in the photograph something white near the *sari* of the bride and pointed it out as the fire. Counsel got him to mark the spot with a blue pencil. "You are sure it is the fire before which you married?" The answer had to be "yes". Counsel sat down. There was some re-examination and the plaintiff's evidence came to a close.

After the recess, Munshi brought a microscope and pointed out to the Judge that what was pointed out as the sacred fire in the photograph was nothing but a flower which had dropped down on the *sari* of the bride.

There was no fire and no valid marriage.

The defence called a photographic expert who deposed to the absence of the fire in the photograph. After the examination of the expert the plaintiff completely collapsed and immediately gave up the case. In sheer frustration, as the Court rose, the plaintiff shouted at Munshi: "You have converted a wife into a sister".

The case had depended solely on the cross-examination of the plaintiff. It was conducted in Munshi's characteristic way. Quiet, courteous, rarely raising his voice, he never resorted to brow-beating, though he could be severe if the need arose. His tactics, all the more formidable for being unfamiliar, were never to bludgeon his man but to lead him quietly and politely to destruction. The witness, feeling that this suave and soft-voiced person could not possibly be dangerous, would follow him confidently down the paths he indicated and would

realize when it was too late the pitfalls that awaited him at the end. Every ball he bowled to him, he placed it just where he wanted.

The Ratlam Conspiracy Case has been dealt with by Munshi himself and does not, therefore, require any further narration.

The Lakshmikantam Murder Case proved that a counsel devoted throughout his life to civil work can effectively deal with a criminal case involving the gravest charge. It broke the myth that only a criminal lawyer can adequately deal with such cases.

By 1944, Lakshmikantam was a legendary figure in the South. Munshi himself has described him as "the prince of yellow journalism; a scoundrel on a grand scale with superhuman skill and unrivalled effrontery". His lurid career began many years before he met an untimely end. In the thirties, he used a forged document, knowing it to be forged, and, for the offence was tried before the High Court of Madras. During the trial he escaped from custody, was re-arrested and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment. While being transferred from one jail to another, he drugged his guards, escaped from custody and fled to a distant village. There he changed his name, settled down and married. Later, betrayed by his birth-marks, he was re-arrested, charged for escaping custody and sentenced to serve the terms of both his sentences.

Soon after he served out his sentences, he took to cheap journalism and obtained a licence to publish a Tamil weekly called *Cinema Thoothu.* The journal specialized in spicy stories about the well-known figures of the cinema world, as also about well placed persons in Madras, who suddenly found their names besmirched week after week. With difficulty some of them got his licence cancelled. Lakshmikantam bought out the interests of another Tamil weekly, *Hindu Nesan,* and again emerged as a terror. Not a single well-known or respected name in Madras escaped his attention, though the leading figures in the film world were his favourite targets. He exposed, derided and chastised his victims "in a manner which Junius and Jonathan Swift might well have envied." The episodes in the lives of film stars, the great and the rich made salacious gave *Hindu Nesan* a wide circulation wherever Tamil was read. Its copies were sometimes sold at fantastic prices. Curiously, the general masses of Tamil-reading men and women regarded him as the wrathful prophet of righteousness and

the guardian angel of the chastity of Indian womanhood, privileged to pry into the private lives of all.

On the morning of November 8, 1944, Lakshmikantam was returning in a *rikshaw* from the residence of his advocate, when he was waylaid and stabbed on General Collins Road, Vepery, Madras. He was taken to the General Hospital; an operation was performed on him. But he died soon after.

His murder created a tremendous sensation in the whole State. His victims breathed a sigh of relief but a large concourse, reported to be over 50,000, attended his funeral.

Public interest in Lakshmikantam's murder reached its peak when the C.I.D. chargesheeted, amongst others, three of the most prominent figures in the film world of the South. The first was M. K. Thiagaraja Bhagavathar, then the most celebrated with the cinema going public in South India. The second accused was N. S. Krishnan who, along with his wife and partner T. A. Mathuram, constituted the best team of comedians in the South. The third accused was S. M. Sriramulu Naidu, a well-known producer and film director. These three, along with five others, were charged with the offence of conspiracy to murder Lakshmikantam.

R. Narayana Aiyangar, a leading figure in the cinema world of Madras, came to Bombay to engage Munshi to defend S. N. Sriramulu Naidu. Narayana arranged that though Munshi appeared only for Naidu he was to lead the other counsel on the general aspect of the case and the rest would supplement his efforts, if anything concerning a particular accused was left out. The prosecution was conducted by Mr. P. V. Rajamannar, then the Advocate General, who later graced the office of the Chief Justice of the High Court of Madras. He was assisted by Mr. P. Govinda Menon, then the Crown Prosecutor and later a Judge of the Supreme Court and three other juniors.

It is impossible at this date to recapture the absorbing interest which this case then evoked. The Court was crowded to capacity throughout the twenty-two days that the case lasted. Almost all the papers in the South published *verbatim* reports of the proceedings, and the reporting, for which Madras is justly famous, was meticulous.

"For days together," Munshi has recorded, "I was busy cross-examining one prosecution witness after another. The spirit of Lakshmikantam dominated the whole atmosphere. Most of the witnesses could not tell a straight-forward story nor the whole truth. There was something mysterious about the evidence of the Advocate whom the deceased had visited a few minutes before his death. The medical evidence was anything but satisfactory". During the medical testimony it came out that while the operation on Lakshmikantam was being performed, the surgeon's knife had penetrated one of his kidneys. One of the witnesses lapsed into momentary inattention and admitted this fact. At the end of the day, it was felt as if it was the surgeon's knife that was the approximate cause of the death of Lakshmikantam.

The case for the prosecution against Naidu was that he had entered into a conspiracy with Bhagavathar and Arya Veera Senan to do away with Lakshmikantam and that this conspiracy was hatched at the Woodlands Hotel at Madras where Bhagavathar was living at the time. Kamalanathan related to Lakshmikantam was the mainstay of the prosecution on this part of the case against Naidu. The prosecution case was that Vadivelu, one of the accused, had attacked Lakshmikantam with a knife on the 19th October, even before the fatal attack on the 8th November. Referring to this incident, Kamalanathan had deposed in the Magistrate's Court that he had been to the Woodlands Hotel three days after the incident of the 19th of October, and there had found Naidu and Bhagavathar talking to Arya Veera Senan about killing Lakshmikantam.

Munshi's instructions were that if he could extract from this witness an admission that he had started from home just after 4-30 P.M., that being the inauspicious period of *Rahukalam*, there was some chance of Naidu's acquittal. If *Rahukalam* had expired exactly at 4-30 P.M., the day of the visit, according to the calendar, would have been the 26th of October and not the 22nd as deposed to by the witness. And if the day of his visit had been the 26th of October, it could be proved beyond doubt that on that day Naidu was at the Taj Mahal Hotel in Bombay.

Munshi felt that the life of a human being was hanging on his skill as a cross-examiner. If the witness were to get an inkling of what he was driving at, he had only to say that he was not sure whether he

had left home exactly at 4-30 P.M. and that it might have been a little earlier. Assuming an air of innocence Munshi let go the crucial question.

> "You have said you were waiting for half past four to strike. For what reason? Was it inauspicious to start before 4-30 that you remember the fact so particularly?"

Kamalanathan sprang to the bait.

> "Certainly. It would have been an inauspicious moment to start before half past four. It was *Rahukalam* and on that day *Rahukalam* ended just before 4-30 P.M."

"Look at this calendar", was the next question. "*Rahukalam* ended just before 4-30 P.M. on the 26th of October". The witness gazed at the calendar, found that he had made a gross mistake and began to fumble. Counsel adopted a severe tone. "Come, Come. If *Rahukalam* had ended at 4-30, the day would have been the 26th of October, and not the 22nd. Is that not so?" "Yes", was the answer. Kamalanathan could not deny that Naidu was at the Taj Mahal Hotel at Bombay on the 26th of October. The prosecution case collapsed with these damaging answers and much to the disappointment of the prosecution the approver in the case refused to implicate Naidu. The Advocate General in fairness entered a plea of *nolle prosequi* so far as Naidu was concerned.

Naidu's acquittal created sensation all over Madras. Not to spoil the effect, Munshi decided to leave for Bombay the next morning. But before he could do so, he was engaged for N. S. Krishnan.

On behalf of this accused, Munshi tendered elaborate evidence to show that he had been at Salem on the 7th of November and that he had received a registered letter while he was there. Munshi addressed the Jury on behalf of Krishnan for several hours. During his address he felt that the majority of the Jury was coming round and when the Jury at last retired it was anticipated that Krishnan at any rate would be acquitted. But the summing up of the trial Judge lent heavily against the defence and some of the comments made against the plea of *alibi* of Krishnan made their effect on the minds of the Jury. The Jury brought its verdict against Krishnan and the Judge gave the sentence of transportation for life. An appeal against the verdict proved futile. Bhagavathar and Krishnan appealed to the Privy Council

which held that the evidence could be examined afresh by the Appeal Court. The appeal therefore was reheard by a Division Bench of the Madras High Court so far as these two accused were concerned. The two accused were given the benefit of doubt and at last acquitted.

Commenting on Munshi's performance in this great trial, Chief Justice Rajamannar, who had led the prosecution against him, wrote in glowing terms:—

> "Being myself a devotee of literature and a dabbler in play-writing, I could see and appreciate very often the sweep of imagination and his intimate knowledge of human nature in his cross-examination of the prosecution witnesses".

This feature in his advocacy was also emphasised by Chief Justice Chagla who wrote about Munshi in 1946 for the Diamond Jubilee Commemoration Volume.

> "Munshi has always liked to work on a large canvas. He likes to present his case in the grand manner. The artist in him gives to every case the complexion of breathless drama. He gives you the idea that the eternal verities are on the side of his client and that in deciding the case in which he is engaged you are making a legal history"......"The artist in Munshi is always peeping from behind the lawyer and the politician. And, therefore, both in his advocacy and his politics there is the element of the incalculable. At the Bar he has often startled both his opponent and the Judge by urging a point which has struck no one and yet which has often proved decisive of the case".

From 1948 I lost the close touch I was in with him, he going into politics once again and I on the Bench. After retiring from the Governorship of Uttar Pradesh, he devoted himself mostly to the work of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan making a few intermittent appearances in the Courts. But the old spark had not disappeared and he could still plunge himself wholeheartedly in the few chosen briefs he accepted.

I do not refer to the recent cases in which he appeared before the Supreme Court as I do not possess any first-hand knowledge about them. But reading the reports of cases such as The *Express Newspapers Private Ltd. and Another v. The Union of India and others,* 1959 S.C.R. 12; the *Hamdard Dawakhana Case,* (1960) II S.C.R. 671,

and *Mullaji Saheb's* case, A.I.R. 1962 S.C. 582, it would seem that none of his old spark has diminished nor his habit of plunging himself vigorously into cases before him has in any way changed.

Though he went in and out of law to give his versatile gifts to the country, he returned time and again to the profession. For nearly half a century, he has been a familiar figure in that library on the second floor of the High Court which houses books as variegated as the black-robed men and women there. Gifted with an extraordinary warmth of heart and amiability, he has been popular with both old and young. He has been lavish and even extravagant in giving his warmth and fortunate in receiving in the same degree the affection of his compeers at the Bar.

Always well-groomed, whether in European or in his later days in strictly Congress garbs, he has always insisted on being sartorially strict. Endowed with a quick intellect, his advocacy has always been adroit and dextrous. It has always had an element of freshness of approach and surprise mingled with something incalculable which made him a dangerous opponent. Nevertheless, his exposition, whether of law or fact, was lucid and exhaustive. Shunning details, he always insisted on reducing his case into a few well-composed propositions which, supported by the text or case law, had great effect on the Judge. This did not mean over-simplification of the case. Whether the case before him was a civil or a criminal one, he bestowed upon it tremendous industry, incessantly collecting materials, reducing them into strict chronological order and then supplying them with a little twist and a turn here and there, the novelist and the dramatist in him popping out every now and then, to mould them into a powerful plea. A little turn of the head and a movement of the hand as quick as quicksilver, the plea penetrated like a sharp dart into the armour of the other side. And yet, he had an advocacy which had the style of a virtuoso on a violin, discursively developing an unexpected but an intriguing theme, and a mind so fertile that it seemed to impoverish the soil of those around him.

IN THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT

KANJI DWARKADAS

I have the happiest recollections of my friendship and work with Munshi in the political and social fields during the last 47 years.

Of those who started their political and other careers during the last five decades (and who are fortunately still on the active list) may be mentioned Dr. C.P.Ramaswami Aiyar, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Munshi, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Acharya Kriplani, C. Rajagopalachari and myself. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar attended the Indian National Congress for the first time at Calcutta in 1906 when Dadabhai Naoroji presided and M.A. Jinnah was Dadabhai's Secretary. Jawaharlal Nehru started his political work in 1912.

I first met Munshi in November 1915 when he became Joint Editor, along with my brother, Jamnadas, of the weekly *Young India*. The paper supported Mrs. Besant's political work. Jinnah selected me as the Treasurer of the All-India Home Rule League (Bombay Branch) in June 1917, within a week after Besant's internment by the Government of Madras.

Jinnah and Munshi, among others, joined Mrs. Besant's All-India Home Rule League on Mrs. Besant being interned and Munshi and I came into very close contact with each other; myself as the organiser and Munshi as a fluent speaker and writer. Branches of the Home Rule League were started in the various parts of the country and in the Bombay Presidency, particularly in Gujarat. Thousands of leaflets and pamphlets in English, Gujarati and Marathi were published week after week and Munshi and Indulal Yagnik were responsible for most of this literature.

After-dinner meetings were held in Bombay at Kalbadevi and Mandvi where the population was mostly Gujarati-speaking. Munshi readily came forward to address these meetings day after day. For the first time in the history of political agitation, the masses were approached and were made politically conscious by the eloquent speeches in Gujarati by Munshi among others. The same holds good for im-

portant towns in Gujarat like Surat, Nadiad, Anand, Ahmedabad and Godhra and the surrounding rural districts. Munshi spent his week-ends in all those important places. Home Rule League branches were started, literature distributed and local leaders came forward to help and continue the work started by Munshi and other leaders from the Bombay Home Rule League.

The first three years of the Home Rule League set the tone for the subsequent political work taken over by Gandhiji.

The country was shaken from its foundations by the criminal folly of the British Government in introducing the Rowlatt Bills against the unanimous opposition of the Indian people of all shades of opinion. Gandhiji threatened to start the Civil Disobedience Movement.

Munshi, the able lawyer, was still struggling to get his practice in the High Court established and he had not yet found his feet there. Some of us, including Munshi, refused to be stampeded by Gandhiji. Some others wobbled between joining Gandhiji's civil disobedience movement and Mrs. Besant's constitutional methods of agitation.

Mrs. Besant resigned as the President of the Home Rule League. I resigned my office as Treasurer in the League along with Mrs. Besant. Time was running out and Mrs. Besant had to rush from one end of the country to another—Madras, Calcutta, Banaras, Simla and Bombay—and within three or four weeks, she founded the National Home Rule.

Along with Jinnah and Jayakar, Munshi continued to work in the old Home Rule League. Umar Sobani and Shankarlal Banker left the Home Rule League to be the Secretaries of Gandhiji's Satyagraha Sabha which was organising programmes for mass civil disobedience.

Both Mrs. Besant and Jinnah went to England in May-June 1919 to tender evidence before the Joint Committee of Parliament on Montague's Bill. In the meantime, the Hunter Committee with Sir Chimanlal Setalvad as one of its members, was to start work in the Punjab and to consider the atrocities committed by General Dyer and the military during the disturbances in the Punjab, particularly the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre and the inhuman and cruel insults offered to the Indian people. There was enough evidence on the Indian side to prove such atrocities and the evidence had to be sifted and properly prepared for presentation to the Hunter Committee. Solicitor M. S. Captain and

the young advocate K. M. Munshi were requested by the Presidency Association to appear on behalf of the public before the Committee. Munshi agreed to give up his practice in Bombay for a period of six months and to go to the Punjab. This was an act of sacrifice on Munshi's part based on high patriotic motives. Munshi would have done his work wonderfully well. However, Gandhiji decided to boycott the Hunter Committee and hold a separate independent inquiry of the Congress, presided over by Pandit Motilal Nehru. The Hunter Committee made majority and minority reports, Sir Chimanlal being responsible for the latter. Sir Chimanlal told me later that if the Hunter Committee had not been boycotted and if the evidence which was tendered before the Congress Enquiry Committee had been brought forward before it, his minority report would have been the majority report and such a report condemning General Dyer's atrocities and Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Government of the Punjab would have created a tremendous impact in British official circles as well as the British public. It is indeed a pity that Munshi's great abilities were not utilised in bringing about this wholesome result.

Both Munshi and I were at the Amritsar Congress. Three or four days before the Congress met, the King Emperor issued a proclamation asking for the co-operation of the Indian people for the working of the new Government of India Act of 1919. Munshi was on the platform with Mrs. Besant. Leaders started quarrelling. One section headed by Mrs. Besant wanted to work the Reforms wholeheartedly, unsatisfactory though they were in many respects. Tilak was of the same opinion and he had promised Montague before he returned to India that he would help in working the Reforms. He said that India was getting by the Montague Act four annas in the rupee and he would use these four annas in getting the balance of twelve annas. But Tilak was overruled by the more extremist section which condemned the new Act wholesale. Munshi was not amongst this more extremist section.

In 1918, the Montague-Chelmsford proposals were published and the Montague Act was a great improvement on these proposals, thanks to Montague and Lord Sinha who was later Secretary of State for India.

Soon after his return from England early in 1920, Jinnah realised that the two Leagues, the All India Home Rule League, of which he

was the President in Bombay and the National Home Rule League, with Mrs. Besant as President and myself as Secretary, could not work efficiently if they did not join hands. And both for personal and political reasons, he asked me once again to take up the Secretaryship of the All-India Home Rule League, Bombay, with Munshi. I told him this was a matter on which I could not take a decision much as I would like to work with him (Jinnah) and that he should speak to Mrs. Besant about it. Some correspondence followed between Jinnah and myself and Mrs. Besant and eventually she gave me permission to continue my work as Secretary to the National Home Rule League with redoubled effort and also to join Jinnah's Home Rule League and to work as Joint Secretary along with Munshi.

This was a happy combination and our work proceeded satisfactorily and in full swing. Jinnah, Munshi and I worked together as a happy team. Our idea was that after a short time of such active cooperation, the two Leagues should merge into each other and we should stand by each other and work together.

This is what happened. In 1920 September—Calcutta Special Session of the Congress—Gandhiji got the non-cooperation resolution passed by a small majority. Jinnah was still a power to be reckoned with as the President of the Home Rule League, Bombay. After this, due to a combination of circumstances, the League which had been taken over by Gandhiji, could not find the support necessary for its continuance. Gandhiji's followers brought about certain fundamental changes in the objectives of the League and even changed its name which was not acceptable to Jinnah and his friends. Therefore Jinnah, Jayakar, Munshi and myself and 15 others resigned our membership of the Home Rule League which now came to be called by the name of Swaraj Sabha. Thus Munshi's work in it came to an end on 4th October, 1920.

For the moment and just for the moment, his political work for the Home Rule League came to an end; he lost no time in re-orienting his activities. He went back to the Bar and built up a lucrative practice. He also took zealously to his old love, literature, founded *Gujarat*, the monthly magazine, in collaboration with his friend Lilavati. They were married in 1926.

In the early twenties, Munshi wrote historical novels and dramas and his magazine *Gujarat* could stand comparison with the best monthly magazines of England and America. At the 1922 Bombay University Convocation, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Vice-Chancellor, rightly called him the master of modern Gujarati. In 1927, Munshi entered for the first time the Bombay Legislative Council and made a great impression as a debator and a scholar.

Our work together in politics came to an end; but once again in 1938, when he was Home Minister in the first Congress Ministry, he, as Vice-Chairman of the Children's Aid Society, and myself as its Hon. Secretary, worked in the closest co-operation in expanding the scope of the Society's work and thanks to his great imagination and capacity for work, the Children's Home at Chembur was planned and built and the David Sassoon Industrial Home was taken over by the Children's Aid Society.

At 75, Munshi works as hard as ever before. His contributions to politics, social work and literature and his establishment of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, with its multifarious activities will stand out for all time to come as the crowning achievement of his life.

FIGHTER FOR FREEDOM

S. K. Patil

It is rather difficult to write about K. M. Munshi. He is one of the most versatile of our leaders and there are so many facets to his personality that it is not easy to describe them all in a single article. In this brief note, which I am preparing for a special occasion, I shall only try to review in retrospect Munshi in our Freedom Struggle. I must say at the very outset that he is one of those political leaders who have left an impressive impact on India's political struggle.

Munshi was a top-ranking legal luminary at the Bombay Bar when he joined the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930. He was an 'intellectual' politician for a good many years before that. But his active political life in that field started in the month of April, 1930. Gandhiji had just started his first Civil Disobedience Movement with the historical Dandi March to the salt fields on the Western Coast. The then Government did not arrest Gandhiji for quite two or three months although the movement had already started and was at its peak when Munshi, the flourishing barrister of Bombay, jumped into it.

I was then the General Secretary of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee. It was part of my duty to induce big and popular leaders to join the movement. Munshi did not need any such inducement. He himself made it known that he was giving up his practice and actively joining the C.D.Movement. One fine morning in the month of April, 1930, I saw Munshi, meticulously clad in Khadi, leading a procession to Bhatia Bagh where the demonstration was to be held. I was also selected to be one of the leaders of that demonstration. It was thus by a wonderful coincidence that the lots both of Munshi and myself were cast together.

Bhatia Bagh, which no longer exists in Bombay today, was the Kurukshetra on which many a battle of Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930 was fought. Both Munshi and myself along with Ganpatishankar Desai were arrested and became His Majesty's guests.

We were tried together, jailed together and had to live together in various jails. It was during prison life that I had any number of opportunities of having a close look into the multipurpose personality of Munshi. He has a wonderful knack of making friends and retaining them. A highly sophisticated intellectual, Munshi could easily mix well with the mass of prisoners who were naturally very simple and unsophisticated. He used to teach prisoners in jail and his discourses used to be of immense value for the political education of the Congress volunteers.

Munshi must have made any number of friends in his political career which then became a normal feature of his life. He has earned very coveted positions of political and administrative distinction in our country's life, but his moorings were in that part of his life which he spent in various jails of the then Bombay Province. He is a very clear and positive political thinker. His political philosophy is imbued with a religious and spiritual tinge. His pride in the greatness of our Vedic philosophy is almost infectious. It is this combination of thought moulded both in spiritual and political experience that marks him out as a great politician and statesman of our times. It has been my good luck to have his friendship for well over three decades now. Mere politics is ephemeral by any standards, but when it is rooted in spiritual springs it becomes a treasurable asset. The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan is an epitome of a career which is beautifully blended with what is best in India's culture and civilisation; and Munshi is its high priest.

IN POLITICS

Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab

K. M. Munshi—we had known him as a lawyer of repute having extensive practice in the Bombay High Court. When he was chosen to be the Home Minister of Bombay in 1938, I had no personal acquaintance with him. When we met on one occasion in a meeting of the Congress Working Committee, he was so smart and quick in understanding and explaining things that all of us were struck by his grasp of the subjects he was dealing with. The firmness with which he handled the law and order situation of Bombay in those days drew admiration from all quarters. Along with this admiration, our curiosity arose with regard to the political inclinations of this great lawyer and administrator. In those days an ideological controversy was raising its head in the Congress Party itself. The two ideologies which appeared to be clashing with each other were described as Gandhism and socialism. In all my talks with Munshi in those days I was impressed by his frank and practical approach to all problems on their own merits. He was not interested in any academic discussion of different ideologies. Since the Gandhian way was the only practical one, Munshi naturally found himself in that line. He was, therefore, taken to be on the side of Gandhism. Munshi was a firm Home Minister who did not hesitate to use force to maintain law and order. It was clear that he was a practical politician throughout his political career. He used to cut across the acute controversy between the two groups in the Congress in those days. In this process on many occasions he was subjected to virulent criticism from the side of the Congress Socialist Party. He was supposed to be on the side of the rich although he spurned all the wealth he earned and spent it for public purposes.

Although Munshi courted imprisonment during the days of the non-violent struggle, somehow his critics used to say that he was not prepared for any kind of direct action. From this point of view I have tried to study Munshi and I have come to the conclusion that he used to consider all movements from the most practical point of view. He

had no ambition to go to the first bench in the row of the political leaders. He knew his limitations and he knew his duty also. I do not think any other person in his position has rendered more service to the cause of the struggle for freedom than Munshi. His ability as a lawyer-congressman was amply proved in the Constituent Assembly. The Constitution which we have at present was the outcome of the incessant labour of a few persons of whom Munshi was a distinguished one.

Then it so happened that we became colleagues in the Central Cabinet in 1950 and were there together for two years. He was in charge of Food and Agriculture. The practical view which he took regarding the food situation in India was first ridiculed in the higher circles; but, ultimately the same views were accepted when Shri Kidwai became the Food Minister. It is that policy which is now being pursued. It is now forgotten that it was Munshi who initiated that policy when he was the Food Minister. Then he became the Governor of U.P. and there he came up against the distemper of the student community. The courage with which he faced the situation as Chancellor of many Universities brought forth admiration from many distinguished authorities in those days. In spite of his occupation in various political positions, Munshi maintained his intimate contacts with his literary and cultural activities.

It was my privilege to have been in some way or other associated with the Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, almost from its very inception. This institution grew as Munshi rose in the political estimation of the people. When he retired from the Governorship he could have settled down to the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, but the politician in him did not allow it to be done. As it is well-known he is the Vice-President of the Swatantra Party which has been founded by Shri Rajagopalachari who at one time was the main adviser of Gandhiji. I have had long discussions with Munshi with regard to the change in his political convictions. I do not know whether he or his friends in the Swatantra Party will agree with me or not; but, my study of Munshi is that he still continues to be a believer in the ideals of the Congress as have been conceived and given effect to from the Gandhian days. But a doubt has arisen in his mind as to whether the present leadership of the Congress really believes in parliamentary democracy. Once Munshi remarked to me in the course of conversation that if he could be satisfied

that the scope for criticism of all governmental policies and programmes was still there, in some form or other, then he would not mind being voted down and the majority having their way. He was afraid that there was practically no scope for any criticism of the Government policies and plans. No assurance from my side could dispel his doubt and there he is.

History will record it that Munshi is one of those political leaders who won freedom for the country, gave it a shape in the form of a Constitution and worked for its maintenance through thick and thin. May he live for many many years more to contribute to the growth of democracy in India and also for development of Indian culture.

AN ARCHITECT OF THE CONSTITUTION

N. H. BHAGWATI

Munshi had studied the problems of Constitution-making from the days of the First Round Table Conference in 1930. He had written several articles and memoranda on the subject including an elaborate opinion on the claim of the Nizam on the Berar at the instance of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and had defended accused in political cases. He had been the constitutional adviser of several Indian Princes and he had been one of the legal advisers of the Congress delegation negotiating with the Cabinet Mission.

On May 16, 1946, the Cabinet Mission announced their historic plan. On July 10, Gandhiji told Munshi that the Working Committee of the Congress had appointed a Committee of Experts to prepare materials and draft proposals for the Constituent Assembly, and that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress President, had appointed Munshi as one of its members.

By August 4, his first draft of the rules of business of the Constituent Assembly was ready.

After Munshi was asked to join the Expert Committee of the Congress, he began the preliminary exercise of preparing a draft Constitution. He read text-books and relevant case law, made notes and marshalled arguments on paper as would appear from the Constitution Papers (Munshi Collection) now with the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.* The preliminary draft which with some assistance from Sri Krishna Menon, he prepared was a complete Constitution short and precise. It was the result of laborious research, a comparative study of the constitutions of various countries and a search for provisions suitable to Indian conditions.

After the preliminary draft was prepared by Munshi, Pandit Nehru asked him to discuss it with Gopalswamy Ayyangar. In those early days, Munshi and Ayyangar met almost every day discussing drafts,

* The Papers edited by a Committee, of which I am a member, will shortly go to the Press.

problems and moves. The draft Constitution was thus finished and it contained about 30 Articles.

After a futile trip to England in response to Attlee's appeal for a discussion on how to make the Constituent Assembly successful, Pandit Nehru returned on December 7 and the Constituent Assembly opened on December 9. The Muslim League boycotted the session; neither were the State's representatives present.

On December 13, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru moved the Objectives Resolution, and on December 21, Munshi moved inter-alia the resolution for adopting the report of the Procedure Committee containing the draft rules. The rules were adopted on December 23.

On the opening of the Constitutent Assembly, Munshi became closely associated with its work in several capacities. He drafted the first set of rules and was the member of the Rules Committee, the Steering Committee, of the Judiciary Committee, of the Advisory Committee and the Sub-Committees on Fundamental Rights and on Minorities, of the Union Constitution Committee, Union Powers Committee and the Citizenship Committee, of the Model Provincial Constitution Committee in 1948, and of the Drafting Committee which gave final shape to the Constitution. He had the distinction to be the chairman of the Provincial Constitution Committee. In fact he was a member of most of the committees of the Constituent Assembly. He was also a member of the Transfer of Power Committee after the promulgation of the Independence Act, 1947 and of the Committee for adaptation of the Government of India Act. No other member played a more conspicuous part in hammering out the several details of the Constitution.

His active and close collaborators in this work included such eminent men as Sir N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar and Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar.

Sir Alladi was ailing at the time and though he possessed extraordinary legal acumen and astute knowledge of constitutional law, he had little taste for politics and less for party manoeuvres. Sir N. Gopalaswami, to use the words of Munshi "was a wise man, of sound commonsense and with his vast administrative experience and skill in evolving formulae, he provided the balancing factor on many important occasions."

prepared—one by Munshi and the other by Santhanam. The Committee finally produced a set of rules, more or less based on Munshi's draft which created the definite implication that the Constituent Assembly was a sovereign body.

One such was the rule designating the presiding officer of the Assembly as the 'President' and then making him the 'guardian of the privileges of the Assembly, its spokesman and representative and its highest executive authority'. Another rule, Rule 7, made it clear beyond any shadow of doubt that the Assembly was a sovereign body by providing that it could be dissolved only by a resolution passed by itself. That meant that the House from then onwards was autonomous and independent of the British Government, which had brought it into existence. Whatever might be the theoretical considerations, Rule 7 made it *de facto* sovereign.

The Cabinet Mission Plan had within it the seeds of disruption. With the acceptance of partition all external challenges to the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly disappeared. "We have no sections and groups to go into", continued Munshi, "no elaborate procedure as was envisaged by it, no double majority clause, no more provinces with residuary powers, no opting out, no revision after 10 years, and no longer only four categories of powers for the Centre. We, therefore, feel free to form a federation of our choice, a federation with a Centre as strong as we can make it.... We have now a homogeneous country, though our frontiers are shrunk—let us hope only for the moment—and we can look forward to going out unhesitatingly towards our cherished goal of strength and independence."

India's sovereignty was constitutionally established. This sovereignty had to be enshrined in a constitution. This was the task that confronted the leaders and Munshi played a great and glorious part in the framing of the Constitution.

Fundamental Rights

Even according to the Cabinet Plan, one of the early tasks of the Constituent Assembly was to appoint a sub-committee, called the Advisory Committee, including representatives of all minority communities, which had to prepare, among other things, a scheme of safeguards and the manner of enforcing them, to be included in the Con-

stitution. The final list of members chosen for this Committee included Munshi.

The Advisory Committee set up four sub-committees: one to report on Fundamental Rights, another to recommend safeguards for minorities, the third for Tribal Areas, and the fourth to devise the judiciary. Munshi was elected to all the sub-committees.

The Sub-Committee on Fundamental Rights had to recommend what Rights, if any, were to be included in the Constitution, and whether they should be included in the Union Constitution, or the Constitution of the Units. It was within this sphere that Munshi conceived the possibility of circumventing the Plan and resurrecting the unity of the country.

In the preliminary Draft Constitution prepared by him, Munshi had suggested that there should be common citizenship for the whole of the country with freedom of movement, freedom to settle and take up any trade in any part of the country along with equal protection of law for all citizens. Once these provisions were incorporated in the Constitution, nothing could disrupt the unity of the country, grouping or no grouping. As a lawyer, it was but natural that Munshi should pin his faith on the judiciary to preserve the liberty of the individual and constitute a standing impersonal counter-check against the grasping tendencies of the Executive.

Munshi made a close study of the subject and prepared two notes on Fundamental Rights which contain an elaborate analysis of the various aspects of these Rights as they have passed through the law courts and judicial interpretation in India and other countries. Munshi had practical experience of the powerful role of Writs as guardians of liberty and democracy, particularly during the Quit India Movement. Munshi realised that a mere enunciation of these Rights and their incorporation in a constitution would not by themselves constitute a guarantee of individual liberty. 'Unenforced fundamental rights are no guarantee of individual liberty at all', he wrote and set out the reason why, in spite of their elaborate enumeration in the Weimar Constitution, the people of Germany lost their liberties.

If the Fundamental Rights had to be legally enforceable, adequate and speedy remedies in the nature of judicial review had to be provided. The Fundamental Rights in the U.S.A. and the civil liber-

ties in Great Britain had been preserved by reason of two factors: (a) an independent judiciary, and (b) the prerogative writs of Habeas Corpus, Mandamus, Prohibition, Certiorari and Quo Warranto. There had grown up in India a very strong tradition of these prerogative writs and Munshi felt that without such prompt machinery for enforcement the Union and State Governments might conceivably lapse into a programme inimical to freedom. He, therefore, emphasised that these rights should be enforced by the judiciary and that the judiciary should be completely independent of both the executive and the legislature.

A quick remedy in the nature of constitutional writs would go a long way to satisfy the needs of a new democracy where the executive and the legislature had yet to appreciate the democratic way of life.

There was practically no opposition to all this in the Advisory Committee but when the 'due process' clause, which he had got incorporated in the sub-committee's report and had got accepted in the first sitting by the Constituent Assembly, came to be discussed by the Drafting Committee, he was almost the solitary supporter thereof and in spite of his valiant fight for the same 'due process' was substituted by 'procedure established by law' as an Article borrowed from the Japanese Constitution.

The Fundamental Right as regards property brought out conflicting views. There was almost a stalemate, the controversy ranging over two questions whether the right to compensation should be incorporated in the constitution and whether the Judiciary should be the judge of its equitableness. Munshi spent much of his energy in canvassing for a compromise and the Assembly finally accepted a judicial review.

Problem of the Minorities

The Minorities Committee had to jump over several hurdles. The religious and communal minorities had been converted by the policies of the British into a sort of vested interests and, after Sardar, who was the Chairman, the most important part was played by Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant and Munshi.

Sardar as a hard-headed politician and a patriot, and Munshi as a student of history and a legatee of that emotional worship of the Motherland which he inherited from his early association with Shri Auro-

bindo, alike realised that the destiny of the country lay in its being united and strong.

Munshi had ever been a true friend of the minorities. As a lawyer and a statesman, he believed in a secular state which to him was not a 'godless' State, but a State in which religious freedom was assured and all respected the religion of everyone. It is this catholicity about him that won him the confidence of the minorities and enabled him to negotiate successfully with all shades of opinion and persuade them to give up their separatist attitude and finally to agree to joint electorates without reservation of seats. It was a great achievement and in all this, though Sardar was the force behind, the negotiating skill was Munshi's. There was powerful opposition from strange and unexpected quarters but neither Sardar nor Munshi relaxed their efforts till the minorities willingly gave up their mental reservations. This laid the ghost of the 'Divide and Rule' policy of the British and the Chairman in winding up pleaded that minorities should no longer look to any external authority to assist them. They should depend only on the good sense of their own countrymen. It was a great triumph for the national outlook.

Role of the Judiciary

In any Federal Constitution, the Judiciary plays the most important role as the protector of the rights of the citizens, as the guardian and interpreter of the Constitution and finally as the important force behind the contractual agreement implied in the nature of the Constitution. It is the hope of the units as well as of the centre. Ever since the Philadelphia Convention of 1786 American federalism has been saved clarified and empowered to give the U.S.A. a stability of government largely by the independent and powerful Supreme Court of that Republic. Like the father of all other subsequent federal constitutions, the Constituent Assembly of India had to provide for a federal judiciary in our Constitution. The structure and powers of the Federal Court instituted under the Government of India Act, 1935, had to be modified to suit the changed conditions created by independence.

In this important work, Munshi played a leading role, though Sir Alladi was his colleague on the Committee. Sir Alladi at first took a legalistic view of the jurisdiction of the proposed Supreme Court

of India and doubted whether our Supreme Court should have wide powers.

Munshi, on the other hand, cut through legalistic difficulties. He said that as India was going to have a federal form of Government, people will have to live under the concurrent jurisdiction of the Union and the units obeying each in some things, and the Supreme Court should, therefore, like the one in the U.S.A., must be in an authoritative position to determine the limits of this sovereignty. So far as its constitutional functions are concerned, these functions should not be merely constructing the constitution but co-ordinating the law, in the light of fundamental rights.... The Supreme Court in certain matters must have original jurisdiction *cf.* Art. III Cl. 2 of the U.S.A. Constitution. In so far as the Supreme Court should also be a final court of appeal from the High Courts of the units, there need not be anything like the system of federal courts as in vogue in the U.S.A. and permissible under the Australian Constitution. Some provision would, however, have to be made which will enable the Supreme Court to have some controlling power to secure the independence of the High Court.

The political role of the Supreme Court of India was stressed by Munshi. Once the units with provincial autonomy were established and linguistic provinces formed there would naturally arise a tendency for these units to evolve on the lines of petty Nation States. The only preventive to such an attempt was, first and foremost, the influence of the Supreme Court as a unifying agency. The Union Government would no doubt exercise a variety of influences, political and financial. But the unconscious process of consolidation which a uniformity of laws and interpretations involves would make the unifying unconscious and, therefore, more stable.

The Committee ultimately decided to take the broadest view of the powers and jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

Strong Centre with plenary powers

Munshi's greatest contribution to the Constitution was towards having a strong centre. As a keen student of the history of India, he had for years realised the need of maintaining India's unity and strength at the Centre. The greatest service which the British rendered to India, he had said, was to give a unitary and powerful central government.

He had also seen and commented upon how the Congress refusal to work the federal part of the Government of India Act of 1935 had ended in the partition of the country. He said that medieval particularism had still a hold on the people, expressing itself in provincialism, regionalism and linguism. And no other country in the world had been invaded and conquered by outsiders so many times as India.

Munshi was in a position to influence the course of Constitution-making in favour of a strong Centre with plenary powers. By the time the Committees appointed by the Constituent Assembly to recommend Model Constitutions for the Provinces and for the Centre, on both of which Munshi was one of the most active members, had submitted their reports, the Committee on Union Powers presided over by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had already enlarged the scope of the Union Powers included in the Union List. Still the 'poison of provincial autonomy' had already entered deep into the provisions of the Constitution and Munshi made ceaseless efforts to neutralise them. It was not an easy task. There were many protagonists of provincial autonomy in the Assembly. As soon as the 'shackles of the Cabinet Mission Plan' were gone, the Union Powers Committee, of which he was an active member, also submitted a supplementary list of powers.

The severe limitation on the scope of the central authority in the Cabinet Mission's Plan had been a compromise accepted by the Assembly much against its judgment of the administrative needs of the country in order to accommodate the Muslim League. Once the partition became a settled fact, the Committee was of the view that it would be injurious to the interests of the country to provide for a weak central authority which would be incapable of ensuring peace, of co-ordinating vital matters of common concern and of speaking effectively for the whole country in the international sphere.

His view that the President should be elected by universal franchise was welcomed. But the majority members of the Union Committee, led by Nehru, were strongly opposed to the view. Ultimately Sir Gopalaswami Ayyangar evolved the compromise formula now embodied in Article 54, by which the President was to be elected by the members of all the legislatures in the Union, both Central and State.

The Model Provincial Constitution Committee had suggested the appointment of a Governor by election on adult franchise or by a

panel system under which the legislature would choose three names out of which the President would select one. In either case, the Governor would be a man of the province; he would only be a representative of the province but not of India as a whole. Both the features would strengthen regional loyalties and affect the strength of the centre and the unity of the country. The problem baffled solution for some-time; the idea of a nominated Governor was mooted and Munshi strongly pressed for it.

Munshi passionately supported the provisions relating to 'Emergency'. Nobody wanted to resurrect Sec. 93 of the Government of India Act of 1935, which was considered by many as undemocratic and contrary to the principles of responsible government. Munshi, on the other hand, wanted that the Centre should have some power whereby it could step into the provincial sphere to tide over any emergencies whether connected with law and order or a constitutional impasse or an external emergency. Hence, he introduced an amendment to the original provision in the Report of the Provincial Constitution which finally and inevitably led to the Article 356 taking shape as it stands to-day in the Constitution whereby the President either on the report of the Governor or on his own initiative can suspend the State's normal machinery of government and take over the administration.

Sir Alladi and Munshi also succeeded in introducing another clause (Article 354) whereby a 'duty' has been cast on the Centre to see that 'the Government of a State is carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution'.

The 'Emergency' clauses (Article 352 and Article 356) made the country only politically united, but the Drafting Committee was far-sighted enough to see that mere political unity was not enough and that the unity of the country really implied more or less unified economy.

The Centre must have the power to enforce a co-ordinated economic policy throughout the country. Article 360, providing for a 'Financial Emergency' was hit upon thereafter largely as a result of the efforts of Munshi.

Whether a country has a strong Unitary Constitution or not depends largely upon the powers which the Centre enjoys and, therefore, Munshi from the beginning concentrated on a study of this problem of distribution of functions between the Centre and the Units. Through-

out the days when Schedule VII of the Constitution was under discussion in the Assembly, Munshi was very active and introduced more and more items to enlarge the sphere of the central administration.

The imperative need to educate the citizens, specially to think in terms of all-India unity, was specially realised by Munshi. Education was largely left to States and this provision along with the rights to education in the mother tongue and regional language would not only result in different standards of education in different regions, but would allow separatist tendencies to grow up, encouraged by different States and Universities. He, therefore, fought hard for the inclusion of University education in the Concurrent List, but succeeded in his efforts to some extent only with the active support of Maulana Azad. He had the prophetic vision to see the new enemy of India, Linguism as he christened it, and wanted by all means to preserve India's basic unity.

Official language of the Union

When it is alleged that Hindi was imposed upon the country, it is forgotten that the movement did not begin with the Hindi-speaking people but with Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar and Munshi, three representatives of non-Hindi-speaking provinces, who in the interests of consolidation were anxious to set the country in the direction of developing a national medium.

There was, however, considerable divergence of opinion among the members of the Constituent Assembly about the official language of the Union. Even though in July 1949 an amendment was drafted making Hindi and Devanagari the official language and script of India and English as the additional official language for 10 years and this amendment was supported by about 80 members of the Constituent Assembly, there were 3 groups of opponents: (1) a small group which did not want an official language to be prescribed by the Constitution, (2) a very powerful but small group which wanted Hindustani, and (3) the most formidable group of South Indians against Hindi who wanted English to be the official language for 15 years, keeping the question of Hindi in cold storage till then.

Munshi used all his tact and persuasiveness in the solution of this problem and ultimately he and some of his friends were able to evolve

a compromise, then known as Munshi-Ayyangar formula, by which the Constituent Assembly while accepting Hindi as the official language of the Union fixed a period of 15 years for replacing English by Hindi for official purposes of the Union, in terms of part XVII of the Constitution. The Munshi-Ayyangar formula was a characteristic solution of a most important Indian problem, the need for national consolidation on the basis of linguistic and cultural unity.

In the great process of framing the Constitution Munshi played an important and conspicuous part, taking continuous interest from its very beginning till the end. Behind many of the ideas enshrined in the Constitution lay Munshi's fertile brain. Future history of India will record to what extent Munshi was right in his ideas; but he will always be remembered for the valiant fight he put up for a strong and united India, a strong Centre and an integrated judiciary and he is assured of a permanent place among the Founding Fathers of our Constitution.

CONSTRUCTIVE PARLIAMENTARIAN

J. B. KRIPALANI

My greetings to Sri K. M. Munshi on the auspicious occasion of his 76th birthday. I wish him many happy returns of the day to serve our mother-land.

He is a man of versatile ability. He is one of our outstanding advocates well versed both in case and constitutional law. He is a dramatist and a literary writer in his mother tongue, Gujarati. He is a journalist. He is a great lover and expounder of Hindu culture. He is also a social reformer. After provincial autonomy and Independence he occupied the treasury benches, being Home Minister in Bombay and afterwards the Food and Agriculture Minister at the Centre. He was honoured by being appointed as the Governor of U.P., the largest Indian State. Along with two of our great constitutional lawyers from the south, Sri Alladi and Sri Gopalaswami, he played an important role in framing our present Constitution.

Sri K. M. Munshi was in the parliamentary life of the country for about 30 years. Beginning his parliamentary career as an elected Member to the Bombay Legislative Council from the Bombay University Constituency in 1926, he brought to his work the dynamism of his personality. In the Councils constituted under the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, the elected members could do nothing except making speeches. Sri Munshi was not satisfied with this role. He founded the National Coalition Party inside the House for rendering active service for causes considered just and useful.

Sri Munshi did not make pretence to holding to any rigid ideology. He judged various issues on merit before offering support or opposition. If a just and deserving cause was sponsored even by the unjust foreign Government, he supported it. There were occasions when persons not agreeing with his viewpoint dubbed him as a Government Spokesman. Sri Munshi's support to the appointment of the Governor as the Chancellor of the University, an idea sponsored by the Government, made him the object of criticism in the name of democracy.

On the other hand his opposition to the Government move to provide communal representations for the University bodies and carrying with him a great majority of Hindu and Muslim Members for setting up of an enquiry committee on Bombay riots of 1929, against the wishes of the Government, made him an acclaimed advocate of popular causes. Sri Munshi did not believe in opposition for the sake of opposition.

As a member of the Legislative Council, Munshi made noteworthy contribution to primary and secondary education in the Bombay State, including vocational training and the starting of the scheme for physical education. His term in the Council was marked by his service to the cause of Bardoli peasants and his transformation from a constitutionalist to an advocate of direct action under the influence of the inspiring leadership of Gandhiji and Sardar Patel. Though he revolted at the idea of the so-called unconstitutional agitation by the peasantry, when he went to Bardoli and saw the condition of the peasants, he did not hesitate to resign the membership of the Council on that issue.

In his capacity as the Home Minister of the Bombay State in 1937 he established certain healthy conventions to prevent the Governor's incursion into the day-to-day administration. He defended the Public Service Commission's special relation with the Government. He was a determined Home Minister and used the resources of the Government to eliminate the causes which tended to endanger harmonious relations between the Hindu and the Muslim communities.

Munshi also exhibited qualities of a successful campaigner when he took upon himself the task of explaining the policy of the Bombay Government on Prohibition. His campaign in favour of the removal of disabilities of Harijans was another notable achievement.

Munshi's role as one of the makers of India's Republican Constitution may not be widely known. His previous experiences as a constitutional adviser to several Indian States and one of the legal advisers of the Congress in negotiating with the Cabinet Mission had pre pared him to render valuable help in framing the Constitution for Free India. He stood for a strong Central Government and made effective contribution to the provisions aiming at this in the Constitution.

In the Minorities Committee, after Sardar Patel and Pant, Munshi's was the leading role in bringing about harmony, the minorities agreeing to joint electorates without reservation. This was a great triumph for the national outlook to which Munshi contributed.

As a Central Minister for Food and Agriculture in 1950, he broke official barriers that came in the way of taking decisions. The negotiation with the U.S. Government for assistance of 2 million tons of wheat in those days was one of his notable achievements. Grow-More-Food Campaign, Van Mahotsava and Land Transport Policy were his other important contributions as a Minister for Agriculture.

Throughout his long career as a parliamentarian, whether in the Bombay Legislature or in the Union Parliament, whether as a Minister or a Constitution Maker, his dominant purpose was to construct and conserve the best democratic conventions.

ROLE IN INTEGRATION OF STATES

V. P. MENON

K. M. Munshi is a true Karma Yogi. Nothing which he has touched has proved a failure. There is no half-hearted approach with him. His dynamic personality brooks no difficulties and he has an infinite capacity for work and organisation. There are many lasting achievements to his credit.

My purpose in this article however is to write what I know of the part he played in the Integration of the Indian States. My personal acquaintance with Munshi starts when he joined the Central Cabinet after the Transfer of Power. His association with Indian States problems, however, started much earlier. He was chosen by the Congress to bring about a union of the Deccan States and he produced a constitution for them. The late Maharana of Udaipur later took him as his Advisor on constitutional matters. He drew up a constitution for Udaipur which for the first time contained provisions regarding fundamental rights for the citizens. I think he resigned from Udaipur a little before we started the integration of the Indian States.

The first Union the States Ministry formed consisted of Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur, and Karauli. When I consulted Munshi about a name for the new Union, he suggested 'Matsya Union.' This name goes back to the Mahabharata period. Similarly the titles of Rajapramukh and Uparajapramukh were borrowed from the constitution Munshi drafted for the proposed United Deccan States.

Munshi also took a very keen interest in the Junagadh affair. There was a spontaneous agitation in the State against the action of the Nawab in acceding to Pakistan, and the people set up a provisional government which issued a stirring proclamation. The author of that proclamation, which received great publicity throughout India, was Munshi.

The most important assignment he took under the States Ministry was the post of Indian Agent General in Hyderabad. The Govern-

ment of India had entered into a Standstill Agreement with H.E.H. the Nizam. There was a provision in the Agreement for the appointment of an Agent General in Hyderabad and for the Nizam to appoint one in Delhi. Zain Yar Jung was the Agent General of the Nizam in Delhi till the Police Action.

In his book *The End of An Era,* Munshi has given his experience in Hyderabad. I will now give what happened on my side. For a month after the signing of the Standstill Agreement there was almost complete quiet, but then in January 1948, there was an incident to show that the calm was deceptive. A trivial but none-the-less significant dispute arose over the allotment of accommodation in Hyderabad for Munshi. The house already earmarked was not ready, so the States Ministry suggested that Munshi should go into one of the vacant residences for the intervening eleven days. The Nizam at once protested against the proposal. We replied that if Munshi was not given proper and adequate accommodation neither he nor any other Agent General would be sent to Hyderabad. In the end Mountbatten interfered and the matter was settled, though not entirely to my satisfaction, and Munshi left Delhi on the 5th January 1948 to take up his post. As soon as Munshi took up this new job in Hyderabad he tried to establish contact with both Hindu and Mohammedan leaders and especially with the Congressmen who were out of jail. This led to the complaint from the Laik Ali Government that Munshi was interfering with the administration. I treated the complaint lightly. I told Laik Ali that what was important to remember was that the negotiations were carried on between him and the States Ministry and if we came to an understanding quickly both H.E.H. and the Government of India could withdraw their Agents General. There was strict watch kept on Munshi's activities and, since it was not safe to communicate anything to Munshi from Delhi, there was not much contact between him and the States Ministry. I was told later that Laik Ali complained to Mountbatten about Munshi's activities in Hyderabad. Munshi had an interview with Mountbatten on the 6th March 1948. Munshi told Mountbatten that, unless the Razakars were controlled, we must send Indian Police to control them. This shocked Mountbatten. He told me later that at that stage of negotiations Munshi's suggestion of Police Action was absolutely wrong and that, while Mountbatten had a very high opinion of Munshi's ability, he doubted very much whether

his temperament and political outlook would suit this particularly delicate position. He again emphasised to me that the handling of the Nizam called for unusual diplomatic patience and communal objectivity. I communicated the gist of my conversation with Mountbatten to Sardar Patel. I also acquainted Sardar with the whispering campaign which was going on in Delhi among some interested people that Munshi should be recalled and another Agent General appointed in his place. Sardar told me that there was no question at all of replacing Munshi in Hyderabad, and asked me to communicate his view to Mountbatten. I conveyed it to him the next day, but in fairness to Mountbatten I must say that he never played with this idea.

Campbell Johnson, one of Mountbatten's staff, who published an account of the events leading to the transfer of power, paid a visit to Munshi in Hyderabad on 15th May, 1948. He found that Munshi had been allotted a residence forty minutes drive by car from the centre of the city. Accordingly few people saw him, and he was out of touch with what was going on. Nevertheless, he had sized up the situation correctly. He told Campbell Johnson that "he had lost faith in Mir Laik Ali," the Prime Minister of Hyderabad, and that "he did not think that anybody meant business either with regard to responsible government or to accession, but he agreed with the preliminary view I had formed that the Nizam was politically master of the situation." His judgments proved to be correct, and four months later the Police Action took place.

Mountbatten left the shores of India on 21st June, 1948. He tried his very best to bring about an agreement between the Nizam and the Government of India. For a peaceful solution we conceded many things to the Nizam which were not in the interest of India. The Nizam rejected them all. On September 9, after a careful evaluation of all the considerations, and when it was clear that no other alternative remained open, the Government of India took the decision to send troops into Hyderabad to restore peace and tranquillity inside the State and a sense of security in the adjoining Indian territories. The Police Action was a very short affair. I saw Munshi on his sick-bed two days after the occupation of Hyderabad. The same day he was taken to Bombay.

In all my long association with Munshi there is one episode above others which stands out in my mind. He took a leading part in the

rebuilding of the Somnath Temple in Junagadh. In that connection the Jam Sahib had written to all our Embassies for waters from the seven seas and earth from the various continents. One of our Ambassadors took exception to this innocent request and wrote to the Prime Minster about it. Personally I felt hurt when I read the Ambassador's letter. As Munshi was concerned with the matter I sent the papers to him, or it may be that the Prime Minister himself wrote directly to him. Munshi's reply, which was shown to me before it was sent to the Prime Minister, was a masterly exposition of the Hindu culture and his own convictions about it, and of the position of Hindus in a secular state. I hope this letter will see the light of the day some time. No one but Munshi could have written on that subject with such learning, conviction and sincerity.

A FAR-SEEING ADMINISTRATOR

K. L. PANJABI

The versatility of Munshi's extraordinary talents has dimmed the glow of the administrator in him. A leader of the Indian Renaissance, a popular novelist, a front-rank politician, a distinguished patron of art, culture and learning, a luminary of the Bombay Bar—these facets of his personality have been more prominent before the public than the remarkable talent and skill in public administration that he displayed as Home Minister of Bombay and, later, as the Food and Agriculture Minister of India.

When the time came, he displayed the ability of a born administrator. The traditions of fair and just conduct, of maintaining impartiality and equality in public affairs and the vigour and drive to disperse and scatter the inertia and apathy that usually surround the Government offices—these qualities were in the blood and bone of Munshi's family, which held a long and distinguished record of public service in administration. In fact, the family derived its name from an Imperial grant made to Nandlal, a Bhargava Brahmin of Broach, who served in the secretariat of the Moghul Emperor in the eighteenth century. Nandlal was a munshi by profession and when he retired. the Emperor Mahomad Shah granted him in perpetuity the *munshigiri* of the Broach Pargana at the rate of Re. 1 per village, which brought him an annual income of Rs. 150. Nandlal's son rose to become the head of the secretariat of the Nawab of Broach. When Broach was conquered by the British in 1803, Jugaldas, the head of the Munshi clan, assisted the British. Kishendas occupied the prize post of a civil judge, and old records show that he proved to be "an excellent and most useful public servant." Narbheram became a Sheristedar of the District Court. His son Maneklal, father of Kanaialal Munshi, rose to be a Deputy Collector. Kanaialal was thus brought up in family environments surcharged with the heavy aroma of administrative principles and traditions. One would have expected that young Kanaialal would also take to government service, but there was a rest-

lessness, a spirit of adventure and a love of independence that drove the young man to become an advocate at Bombay.

For many years he was preoccupied with the legal profession, literary work and other activities. The Bardoli struggle was a turning point in his life; it brought him into the active orbit of the Congress. He had seen the miracle that Vallabhbhai had performed in Bardoli and decided to throw in his lot with the Congress. His historic letter addressed to the Governor of Bombay urging him to yield to the united demand of the peasants of Bardoli proved to be a decisive factor in resolving the stalemate that had been created.

In the Congress organisation he threw his full weight in favour of accepting responsibility of office if an opportunity should arise. He had been an Independent member of the legislature for many years and knew the value of winning the people's support through the fight in the legislatures.

When the Congress Ministry was to be formed in 1937, Munshi's name as the Chief Minister of Bombay was very much in the forefront. The choice lay between B. G. Kher and K. M. Munshi. It was by sheer political exigency that Munshi missed the nomination for the leadership.

True to his principles, Munshi gave up a flourishing practice at the Bar to become Home Minister under Balasaheb Kher on a monthly salary of Rs. 500! This office was by no means a bed of roses. There was turbulence and turmoil on the communal front and people in cities and towns lived in mortal terror of violent disturbances on the slightest pretext of cow slaughter or music before a mosque. These disturbances had disfigured public life, baffled leading politicians and had led to the dreadful epidemic of 'riotitis', in which people tended to revert to the law of the jungle.

Munshi felt that the disease could only be rooted out by a sustained and persistent propaganda among the communities, leading to common fields of activity in place of the combative and mutually repulsive fields. But this change of heart could not be brought about quickly, and, meantime, it was necessary to keep under severe control the violent elements in society. Within a fortnight of his assuming the office of Home Minister, Munshi issued a statesmanlike com-

munique assuring the people of protection of civil liberties and their fundamental rights; he appealed to them as 'their primary duty to take all steps to prevent the dissemination of class hatred and ideas involving the use of organised or unorganised violence in the furtherance of any object.' He declared that his policy was "to foster an attitude of mutual respect and reciprocity of adjustment between all communities in matters connected with religious observances." Opposing an adjournment motion in the Assembly on this communique, he confirmed that "the Government, with all the resources at its command, will endeavour ruthlessly to stamp out anything which tends to endanger the maintenance of harmonious relations between the two major communities."

During his term of office, two communal disturbances occurred in Bombay; but by his superb technique he brought them under control within a few hours. The first occurred on April 17th, 1938. About eight in the evening, the Home Minister was informed that communal riots had broken out in north Bombay and that within an hour of the outbreak 5 persons had been killed and 65 injured. Munshi immediately rushed to the affected areas and found that some streets were deserted and that in others mobs were fighting each other with lathis, iron bars and other odd missiles such as soda water bottles. The situation posed a challenge to the new Minister, especially as a belief had been sedulously spread by interested foreigners that no Indian could ever maintain law and order and that recurrent communal disturbances would become a nightmare in India. Munshi quickly belied this in Bombay. From the riot areas he went to the office of the Commissioner of Police and summoned the top officers. The strategy of combating the riot was worked out in full detail. Orders under section 144, banning the gathering of more than 5 persons, carrying of lethal weapons and imposing the curfew, were immediately passed, printed and distributed overnight. The people woke up to find these orders posted on all important premises. Meantime, Munshi had the undesirable persons, moving about the city at night, rounded up and locked in a temporary prison improvised at Worli. Over a thousand people were arrested. In the morning, Munshi was besieged by people clamouring for the release of some of "the public men" who had been locked up. Munshi declined to do so and firmly replied: "When public order is disturbed, there are no public men and no injured in-

nocents; there are only the Government and those charged with violating the orders."

In the past, such disturbances had been kept alive by publication of news of casualties, separately for each community. Munshi appealed to the Press not to do so, but some journalists disregarded his appeal. He then took the law into his own hands and issued an order under section 144 calling upon the offending newspapers to get their news reports approved by the Public Relations Officers before printing them. This order was kept in force for three days only. However, after it had expired, it was challenged in the High Court and was declared invalid.

A few days later Munshi happened to meet the Chief Justice who told him: "Munshi, I have declared your order invalid."

"My order had the desired effect before you did so", Munshi replied.

"Next time you will be in difficulties", the Chief Justice said with a laugh.

"Don't worry, Sir John," Munshi replied. "If there are riots again, I will issue a similar order; I will make just a few changes out of respect for you; I do not mind what you do with it after the riots are quelled."

The Chief Justice was shocked and said: "This from a lawyer like you!"

"My duty is to restore order", Munshi said. "Your duty will come after order has been restored, and if it is restored."

The measures taken by Munshi were a warning to the rowdy elements that the non-violent Congress Minister could be very violent in resisting unlawful activities.

Munshi realised the necessity of arming the police with effective power and he amended the Bombay City Police Act, authorising the Commissioner of Police to deport any one whom he regarded as dangerous or undesirable.

Another disturbance occurred when a procession was organised on August 1st, 1939, to protest against the introduction of Prohibition. After it had reached Chhota Qabrastan, the mob attack started and

the police had to open fire in which 7 persons were injured. A demand for a judicial enquiry was made; Munshi was so confident of his case that he agreed to it and appointed Mr. Justice Broomfield, who had distinguished himself as the judge who tried Gandhiji in 1922, to conduct it. His opinion confirmed that the action of the police authorities in firing was justified.

Munshi's main task was to convert the police force, which had earned much unpopularity during the stress of long conflict with the nationalist forces, into a force that would attain the same dignity, esteem and even the affection of the people as are enjoyed by the police in London. He told them: "Under the new conditions the police cannot consider themselves merely as upholders of law and order. They have to be guardians of peace and democracy, but the easy method of maintaining prestige by inspiring fear need not be resorted to by such a well trained and efficient force as yours. Uphold the law by all means without fear and favour, with good humour and without being vindictive; but pursue your duties in the spirit of service towards the public, the master whom we all serve; maintain not only order but the reputation of the Government and the dignity of democratic institutions in this country; above all, you must give the same unswerving loyalty to the present Government as you gave to its predecessors."

When the Congress Ministry took office, the police force wondered whether the Party would repay old scores against some zealous men of the force, but Munshi quickly dispersed their doubts by ignoring the past. As he humorously said, "I have been accused by many Congressmen of supporting the police too strongly. I told them that this was only natural as I am now a policeman." The police reacted admirably to his attitude towards them and discovered that Munshi was inspired by big ideas, both in respect of tolerance and of friendship.

Munshi had also to face the disturbances which resulted from a one-day strike as a protest against the Industrial Trade Disputes Act. The Communists organised this on November 7th, 1938, and it developed into open battles between the workers attending the mills and the strikers, and the police had to open fire in self-defence at many places. In order to silence the clamorous critics, Munshi did not hesi-

tate to appoint a committee of enquiry consisting of H. J. Kania, V. F. Taraporevalla and M. C. Chagla. A 139-page statement, surveying the Communist activities in the country since the Cawnpore Communist Conspiracy case in 1924, was prepared under his direction and submitted to the committee. After careful enquiry the committee presented its report completely exonerating the Government and the police.

As a sound administrator, he stoutly resisted the proposal to entrust the enforcement of Prohibition to an independent excise force. The police was given this responsibility.

When the licence of the Royal Western India Turf Club was to be renewed, he seized the opportunity to impose conditions on it to ensure Indianisation of the Turf, giving larger scope to country-bred horses and thus stimulating horse-breeding in India.

He carried out many other reforms, but the tenure of the Ministry was abruptly ended. Twenty-eight months was too short a period for overhauling the machinery of Government dealing with maintenance of law and order. But even during this short span, Munshi left the impress of his vibrant personality on the administration. His sense of fairness and justice won over many opponents. Even the die-hard Europeans supported him and expressed their open admiration of the way he handled a difficult portfolio. Among the people at large he popularised the idea that the Congress Party could be fully trusted with the protection of the liberties of the people.

Munshi's next assignment as administrator was in February 1950, when he was entrusted with the twin portfolios of Food and Agriculture in the Central Cabinet. The people wondered how he would fare in the Ministry which was popularly considered to be a graveyard of reputations.

The food situation in the country was precarious. Agricultural production had not kept pace with the economy of its expanding population. The country had relied on imports of food grains, and when these became difficult to obtain, it could hardly meet the minimum requirements of food and fibre of the people. The supplies were at a low ebb; the reserves were negligible and the country lived from hand to mouth, or rather from farm to ration shops, which catered for 143 million people in towns and cities.

The position had become worse after the Partition which had deprived India of surplus areas of food, cotton and jute. In 1949-50 the country had imported 2.8 million tons of food grains, 9 lakh bales of cotton and 13.5 lakh bales of jute. These imports had involved a heavy drain on the foreign exchange resources of about Rs. 193 crores, and so the imports of food during the next year had been cut down to 1.2 million tons only.

As ill-luck would have it, the acute food position was further aggravated by unfavourable rains during two consecutive seasons—either too little or too much—causing drought in certain areas and floods in others. Agriculture in India depends so largely on rainfall that a cynic has remarked that the success of a Food Minister depends largely upon the favour of Lord Varuna, the God of Rain. Munshi had struck a bad patch.

Undaunted, he set about increasing the supplies by importing from abroad. The Korean War raised unforeseen difficulties; the prices of food grains shot up; there was an acute shortage of tonnage and the freight charges rose by 60 to 140%. To counteract the shortage of foreign exchange, Munshi concluded barter agreement with Argentine for 546,000 tons of wheat and with Egypt for 60,000 tons of rice. He got 427,000 tons of milo from U.S.A. and 5 lakh tons of rice from China. He got additional supplies from Burma, U.K., Ceylon, Thailand, Viet-Nam, Canada, Australia and Pakistan. His outstanding deal was to get 2 million tons of wheat from U.S.A., for which the payment was spread over a long period. With the help of U.K. and U.S.A. he also obtained additional tonnage; 392 food ships arrived in 1950; the next year the number rose to 600. His heroic efforts thus averted a situation which might have been as tragic as the Bengal famine.

His penetrating analysis of the food situation revealed to him that the existing food controls had done more harm than good. The prices kept rising; the States exaggerated their deficits and minimised their surpluses as it suited them; the Central Government was continuously pressed for larger supplies and subsidies; the land was being diverted from food to cash crops; black-marketing and corruption had become rampant; and hoarding had become a national habit. All these factors led to almost universal dissatisfaction with the controls.

He realised that the problem was mainly one of feeding the urban areas and this could be handled if the country could import annually 3.5 million tons. He could then remove the controls in other areas which would need buffer stocks of 2 million tons. But his scheme could not be enforced owing to lack of foreign exchange.

While he was working on a system of decontrol, the Planning Commission was thinking on opposite lines; it suggested that the food controls should be tightened by introducing an integrated price structure, controlling all food and cash crops. It recommended further that the import of food should be subsidised and an export duty should be levied on cash crops. Munshi opposed this plan on the ground that the subsidies would be an unconscionable burden and that an integrated price system, providing disincentives for cash crops, would be disastrous. Altogether, the plan was unrealistic and unworkable. Confidentially, he sent an alternative scheme to the Prime Minister, which aimed at securing free flow of the marketable surplus of food grains from the rural to the urban areas and removal of the psychology of scarcity among the public. The Government's responsibility was narrowed down to meeting the demand of the urban areas only.

A similar scheme for selective control of sugar had yielded very good results. When he took charge, the prices and movement of sugar, gur and khandsari had been fixed by the Government, but the controls were proving very irksome and unworkable. Munshi scrapped them and introduced a two-price system for sugar. The Government obtained 10 lakh tons of sugar required for ration shops at the controlled price from the factories. Any surplus production could be sold by the factories at free prices. As a result of this liberal policy, the production of sugar increased from 9.8 lakh tons in 1949 to 11.2 lakh tons in 1950. The next year it rose to the record level of 15 lakh tons.

Unfortunately, Munshi's letter to the Prime Minister leaked out in the Press and a virulent campaign was launched against it before it could be considered by the Cabinet. He tried to plan for gradual removal of controls as soon as he could build up sufficient buffer stocks of food grains in the country. He did not continue in the Ministry long enough to fulfil his plan. But he definitely prepared the ground for the bold action taken by his successor, the late Rafi Ahmad Kidvai,

who was helped by nature with two successive bumper harvests and who was able to draw upon larger support of the Prime Minister.

Munshi did not ignore the long term solution of the food problem which depended on increasing the internal production. The Central Government had launched a Grow More Food campaign during the war, but it had made little impact on the food situation. To persuade 5 million farmers of the national necessity to get more and more from their land was a herculean task, particularly as they could only be approached and inspired through the State Governments. His first step was to activate the States. With this purpose he convened a conference of the Chief Ministers of all States in August 1950 at Delhi. He spoke to them earnestly; he told them how desperate the situation was; he cajoled them and coaxed them to give serious attention to increasing agricultural production. He reminded them that they had been parties to the declaration of the Prime Minister that India would achieve self-sufficiency in food by the end of 1951. What had they done to fulfil their undertaking? Nothing, so far as he could judge by their deficits and their surpluses; on the contrary, the deficits had been increasing and the surpluses had been diminishing. The Chief Ministers were visibly impressed and expressed their determination to put food procurement and food production on an efficient war footing, giving them top priority, and also to overhaul and strengthen the forces at their command. But such measures take long to implement and even longer to bear fruit, and Munshi did not continue in office long enough to see the good results.

Munshi next turned to the Central Government which had divested itself of responsibility for promotion of agriculture except in respect of research. The Bengal Famine had, however, compelled it to accept the responsibility of feeding the people, and a Grow More Food campaign had been launched by it, mainly in the shape of subsidies to the State Governments to undertake schemes for increase of land productivity. Over a crore of rupees had been spent without making any impact on the food situation. Munshi changed this system to secure practical results by concentration of development in selected areas.

He overhauled the working of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research. He told the research officers that, in a food crisis, extension work was more important than fundamental research. He asked them

to step out of their ivory tower, open the doors and windows, move out into the fields and demonstrate to the farmers the results of their research. He embarked upon an elaborate extension programme which laid the foundation for the community projects and national extension areas. A separate Commissioner for Extension was appointed, and, with the special assistance of the Ford Foundation, training centres in extension work were opened and intensive development blocks were demarcated.

He initiated schemes of Land Transformation—a word coined by him to signify rational utilisation of all available resources of land, water and livestock to their maximum potential in an integrated programme of development. A scheme for the establishment of Associated Farms to secure joint cultivation on scientific lines was initiated by him. For development of intensive areas he set up separate Boards for the Malwa and Malnad regions.

Munshi knew that the collective mind must be roused to support the programme of land transformation. He therefore initiated the formation of a Land Army or Bhoomi Sena as an auxiliary to the extension service. The Land Army was inaugurated by the President of India by the collective digging of the Mangloi channel near Delhi. This movement laid the foundation of *shramdan* which has now become so popular.

He was keen on development of animal husbandry. To him the cow was 'mother cow' and the buffalo 'aunt buffalo' and he showed keen interest in the bullock 'which carries on its patient shoulders the heavy burden of India's agriculture.' He set up the Central Gowshala Development Board for reorganising the existing 3,000 *gowshalas* and he introduced the Key Village scheme for weeding out useless cattle and encouraging the breeding of improved cattle for milk and draught purposes.

In order to relieve the pressure on cereals he wanted to change the dietary habits of the people by popularising the consumption of subsidiary foods. Smt. Lilavati Munshi helped him in this by establishing Annapoorna Cafetarias under the auspices of the All-India Women's Food Council.

Munshi's tenure of 24 months as Food Minister was too short to bring about any radical change in the food situation of the country,

which had been steadily deteriorating from 1941. It was a superhuman task to repair the damage of ten years during the short span of two years. All that he could do was to initiate movements that would secure increased productivity of land and lead to freedom from food controls. For this purpose he mobilised the State Governments to give their full co-operation to the Centre. He co-ordinated the activities of the Central Ministries to eliminate conflict between the demands for food and those for raw materials, such as cotton and jute. He gave the Indian Council of Agricultural Research a new constitution and a mission and reorganised it as a super-University of research and extension. He set up an Extension Board and secured co-ordination between research and extension. Forestry was reorganised and a new National Forest Policy was launched. The Forest Research Institute was made an international centre both for research and extension. He popularised tree-mindedness and inaugurated the Vana Mahotsava festival to check the evil of soil erosion. He initiated schemes for checking the advance of the desert in northern India.

He had reason to be satisfied that, in spite of the legacy of shortages, he had done much to improve the food situation in the country. The increase in internal production and in imports had enabled him to gradually build up buffer stocks which gave a feeling of confidence to the people, discouraged the hoarding habit and ultimately paved the way for removal of food controls. Had he continued for the normal tenure of five years, he would have solved many of our problems.

As an administrator his initiative and enterprise were outstanding. He had the rare knack of infusing enthusiasm among his workers and getting more and more out of them. His untiring vitality and exuberance of spirits infected all those who had the privilege of working under him.

At the same time, he never overlooked lapses on their part. He was quick to appreciate good work, but equally swift to punish the guilty. I remember an instance when a report reached him concerning the dubious dealings of some of his senior officers. He proceeded with the speed of lightning and obtained the explanation of the officers concerned. He was not satisfied with it and within a few hours he put the case in the hands of the police. He was thus able to secure the conviction of the guilty officers.

Throughout his tenure of office and particularly after the demise of Sardar Patel, who reposed full confidence and trust in him, Munshi was subjected to hostile criticism. His good work was ignored and he was blamed even for the failure of rains. A man of keen sensibility, he felt that the atmosphere was not congenial and decided to revert to his first love and devote all his time to literary and cultural pursuits. He did not even seek re-election to Parliament and thus virtually terminated his tenure of office as Food Minister. This was a great loss to the country.

His tenure of office was notable for reorientation of the thinking of the Food and Agriculture Departments. He was never satisfied with what had been done and kept goading the Departments to do more and more. He accepted no limitations and his imagination always blazed new trails, for his inexhaustible energy was never at rest.

On the eve of laying down his office, the President Dr. Rajendra Prasad paid him a rare tribute, from one ex-Minister of Food to another. On February 14th, 1952, he wrote to him:

> "I know with what anxieties you had to work these last twelve months, often in the face of unhelpful criticism. It was in no small measure due to your initiative and drive that the tragedy of Bengal was not re-enacted in Bihar last year and in Gujarat this year. The public will no doubt appreciate your efforts when it becomes aware of what has been accomplished, but I feel that I ought to express my own thanks to you and through you to all those who have co-operated with you in bringing about this improvement."

Posterity will no doubt echo the sentiments of Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

A DYNAMIC BUILDER

H. V. Divatia

Munshi, whether as a literary writer or as a builder of institutions, is pre-eminently a creative and artistic genius.

A person may be uncommonly versed in any art, science or subject of study and his intellectual power may be intensely analytical so that he deals exhaustively with all aspects of a subject. But that is not the essence of genius. A genius is a person whose intellect is essentially creative because he constructs by means of his original ideas, a work of art or literature or even an institution which becomes an object not merely of attraction but also of inspiration and appreciation. Munshi belongs predominently to the latter class. Not that his mind is not analytical or incisive, but his genius shines in the creation of ideas which do not flash in an ordinary mind.

I have known Munshi fairly intimately for more than fifty years and I have worked with him in several important institutions. I can trace the evolution of these qualities of his mind from the time of his struggling youth to the present day when he has completed 75 years of age with brilliant achievements in all branches of his career.

As is well known, his novels, romantic as well as historical, his dramas, mythological and social, his books on history and several other subjects, are so full of creative ideas that they have caught the interest and kindled the imagination of a wide circle of his readers. His narratives far from being prosaic, have a poetic vein which absorbs interest and enthralls attention.

In this article, however, I want to write only about him as a builder of institutions.

From the beginning of his career, Munshi has been connected with a number of institutions of several of which he has been the founder. The first institution in which I worked with him from 1912 onwards was the Gurjar Sabha in Bombay which was started by some of our Gujarati intellectual youths who have become well known to the public in later life.

Munshi took an active part in its weekly meetings and even at that early period he gave promise of the literary flair and political eminence which he attained in later life.

Some years later, he thought that a good literary institution for the propagation of Gujarati literature was necessary to bring together Gujarati writers in Bombay and, with that object, he founded the Gujarati Sahitya Sansad in 1922. The idea was so well received by the writers that in a few years' time the institution became the forum for discussion and criticism of the then current Gujarati literature. A magazine named *Gujarat* was also founded and became a leading journal in that language. The institution became very popular and Munshi desired to go a step further and in 1926 established in Bombay an office (headquarters) of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad (literary academy) which had been founded in 1905 at Ahmedabad.

It generally happens with all institutions, whether political or literary, that when they are managed by persons who have become advanced in years, younger men of talent are desirous of giving a new shape to them, not with the object of ousting the older leaders, but with the idea of infusing new blood in their activities.

In 1928, Munshi succeeded in formulating a new constitution for the Parishad and bringing its headquarters to Bombay. He put the institution on a firm basis by collecting substantial donations and publishing several Gujarati books of literary merit.

In the meanwhile, Munshi's activities were continuously growing in various other fields also. Young writers in Gujarat began to feel that the foremost literary institution of Gujarati language should have its headquarters in Gujarat instead of in Bombay and should hold more frequent sittings in order to gain popularity. Munshi wisely decided in 1955 that the literary and cultural life of Gujarat had become sufficiently ripe and he consented to shift the headquarters from Bombay to Ahmedabad and hand over the management to the younger generation of Gujarati writers under a new constitution. The new arrangement is working well and Munshi remains in touch with the Parishad which is exercising a wholesome influence in the literary world of Gujarat.

Apart from literature, Munshi had plunged into political work when he was a junior at the Bombay Bar. Just as in literature, in politics as

well, there was a belief among the younger generation at that time that the older political leaders in Bombay were not in sufficient touch with the aspirations of the younger people. Especially after the death of Sir Pherozshah Mehta, there was nobody in Bombay to attract young men for work within the Congress fold.

Since 1917, when the new political reforms were being talked about, Mrs. Besant had put before the Indian public the ideal of Home Rule and several young people were attracted to join the Indian Home Rule League which she had started and which was later taken over by Jinnah. Munshi, along with several political idealists, was attracted towards it and he joined the Home Rule League under Jinnah. Along with Omar Sobani, Shankarlal Banker, Jamnadas Dwarkadas and others, Munshi was a prominent member of the League and did much to attract younger people to its work. Unfortunately, on account of difference of opinion between Jinnah and his co-workers, and some of the leaders of the Congress at that time, the League ceased to exist as such and its place was taken by the Swarajya Sabha.

Political work in modern times is a whole-time job for keeping touch with the current problems of the day. The growing practice of Munshi at the Bar and his other activities also did not permit him to do active propaganda work in the field of politics although, later on in 1930, he again plunged into it in the stormy days of Salt Satyagraha and went to jail.

Along with literary and political work, Sri Munshi was keen on founding or taking part in institutions for higher education. He was elected to the Senate and later, to the Syndicate of the Bombay University and, at the instance of His Highness Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwar of Baroda, took in 1926 an active part in the Commission for establishing a university at Baroda. He and his colleagues on that Commission made a detailed report for establishing the University. But its implementation was delayed by the Gaekwar and the University could not come into existence till 1950.

After he became a minister of the Bombay Government in 1937, Munshi took a prominent part in founding the Institute of Agriculture at Anand in Gujarat and from then on, through his pioneering work and the donations which it attracted, that institution is rendering very valuable service in the field of agriculture and improving the cattle breed of

Gujarat. In fact, Munshi, even now, is taking an active interest in the work of this institution and the Agricultural College at Anand.

When Munshi was Home Minister, the problem of delinquent children in Bombay was pressing for urgent solution as it assumed alarming proportions, endangering the physical and moral health of the city. The attempts to deal with this evil both under official and non-official auspices were sporadic and superficial. Seized of this crying evil, Munshi tackled it at its roots and devised means not merely to rescue those delinquents from their career of crime and evil, but also to rehabilitate them as acceptable members of society. The fruit of his efforts was the Chembur Home for reclamation of these children which has become a model institution of its kind.

Later on, Munshi was entrusted with the management of the Hans raj Morarji Public School in Bombay. After he took over the management, it attracted a good number of students. Although it is not a public school in the strict sense of the term, it is a residential High School and it has served a great need in imparting not merely secondary education but also in inculcating a cultural outlook in the students with a sense of discipline. Such institutions are yet quite few in our country and the example of this institution is being followed now in other places. The School has a handsome building of its own at Andheri and it is shaping exceedingly well under Munshi's paternal guidance. He also became the Chairman of a secondary school in Bombay which is being run by the Kabibai Charity Trust, and also of the Kanji Khetsi Trust which has got a good endowment for the benefit of students. All these institutions have prospered since Munshi took over their management.

Last, we come to the great institution—the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan which is the crowning achievement of his public life. Ever since he became a minister in the Bombay Government, Munshi was keen on founding a cultural institution in our country which would embody all that is best in our spiritual heritage and would give our people a correct idea not only of our ancient culture but also the ways in which it can be adapted to the needs of the modern age. From his early life, he had great reverence for the Vedas and Upanishads as well as the Puranas which have enriched Hindu life for thousands of years. He has written several dramas having Puranic characters, and it has always remained his earnest hope that our modern culture should be enriched by a proper

understanding of the eternal values of life enshrined in our ancient classics. He revolved this idea in his mind for a long time. Ultimately with the help of a band of earnest workers, of whom I had the honour to be one from the very start, he started this institution in 1938. It had a modest beginning in a rented house at Andheri. As a first step, with the help of a magnificent donation from a Marwari gentleman, Mungalal Goenka, he established as a constituent part of this Bhavan, a trust known as the Mungalal Goenka Sanskrit Trust which, in course of time, became a post-graduate and research institution recognised by the University of Bombay for M.A. and Ph.D. degrees.

Munshi had realised that our Shastris and Acharyas should be proficient in Sanskrit and well-versed in the subjects on which they had to give discourses. Soon after, he added another institution called the Mumbadevi Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya which teaches Sanskrit and the Shastras by traditional methods, but, at the same time, inculcates a spirit of modern scholarship into the students. Both these institutions are constituent branches of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan and are attracting more and more students not only from Bombay but from outside also. These have done very useful work in imparting a learned outlook to the new generation of our religious priests and preceptors.

From his early years, Munshi has been a crusader for the preservation and popularisation of Sanskrit. An intensely religious soul himself, he has great reverence for the Sanskrit language in which the truths of our great religion have been expressed. His devotion to God and his passion for Sanskrit which go together were responsible, in a large measure, for the two remarkable achievements of his life, the resurrection of Somnath and the organisation of the Samskrita Vishwa Parishad. This latter institution which is born out of Munshi's passionate zeal for Sanskrit has, since its inception, made the people and the Government Sanskrit-conscious and no small part of the renaissance of Sanskrit studies which we see around us now is due to the activities of the Parishad under the inspiration and guidance of Munshi. The Parishad has branches not only in India, but also in foreign lands.

Munshi was thinking in terms of the expansion of the Bhavan's activities and it was felt that if the institution was housed in Bombay city, it would certainly attract a large number of persons who would benefit by it. It was indeed a difficult task so far as the pecuniary as-

pect was concerned; but Munshi has always been fortunate in realising his dreams by popular support in terms of handsome donations and endowments. He succeeded in purchasing a very large area of land at Andheri on the Versova Road stretching right up to the sea and his idea was to establish up-to-date colleges for imparting higher education to our students. The Andheri campus was very well suited for such colleges and with the help of a rich friend, Sri Megji Mathradas, he founded the Megji Mathradas Arts College in the campus. Another rich merchant, Sri Sonavala, donated a large sum of money with which a science college was also established in the campus, along with a hostel for students. These two colleges became popular institutions from the beginning and the demand for admission into them has so much increased that although the Arts College was later moved to Bombay and housed in a new building behind the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's building, a great need was felt for having another such college at Andheri and the College is now being expanded.

As a novelist, Munshi had an artistic as well as romantic frame of mind and he was not content with merely writing novels and dramas but wanted our young generation to take an active part in drama, dance and music. In course of time, he established three other institutions for this purpose, namely, the Bharatiya Kala Kendra for encouraging amateur talents in drama, dance and music, which also sponsors every year an inter-collegiate dramatic competition, an academy of music called Bharatiya Sangeet Shiksha Pith which has been recognised by the Central Government for courses leading up to Bachelor of Music degree, and an academy of dancing called Bharatiya Nartan Shiksha Pith for teaching Manipuri, Kathakali and Bharata Natyam, and all these impart instructions to boys as well as girls. These constituent units of the Bhavan have become extremely popular in Bombay, thanks to the energetic co-operation of Munshi's talented wife, Smt. Lilavati Munshi. They have become a very valuable and integral part of the Bhavan and have attained unprecedented popularity among all classes living in Bombay.

Munshi's interest is not confined to artistic and cultural activities alone. After great difficulties, he has succeeded in founding a very beneficent institution of engineering called the Sardar Patel College of Engineering in the Andheri Campus, housed in a magnificent building.

This has been made possible with the help of donations from the Sardar Patel Memorial Fund, the Nizam's Charitable Trust and other donations as well as the support of the Central Government and the Government of Maharashtra. This institution is being managed by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan and it fulfils a very great need in the city of Bombay where there is increasing demand for engineering studies. There is no doubt that in course of time it will become one of the best engineering colleges in our country.

Munshi has also conceived a very bold idea of publishing books on ancient as well as modern subjects so as to make available to the public the best literature and classics of India. This branch known as the Book University has so far published about 100 titles and the price of each book is fairly low so as to attract the common man. About 10 lakh copies of this Book University Series have so far been sold. They have been published not only in English but also in Hindi, Marathi, Bengali and Tamil. This Book University was really an original idea designed to make accessible very important cultural books to men of all tastes. It has attracted a very wide popularity throughout the country.

Munshi had dreamt of publishing a very comprehensive and authoritative history and culture of the Indian people. It was a very costly undertaking but it must be said to his credit that he succeeded in getting enough money for this project and under the editorship of Dr. R. C. Majumdar, this publication, which has to be completed in ten volumes, has already gone through seven of them and the remaining volumes will be published within a few years.

Very few scholars have taken a keen interest in the writing of authentic histories of our country. It was necessary that such a publication should give to our people a correct idea of the historical evolution of our social, economic and political life from the beginning. There were a number of histories written during the British period, but they were all more or less biassed in favour of the British rule. This publication, however, is compiled with an objective standpoint and it has earned high praise from scholars of history not only in our country but in Europe, America and other countries.

Apart from the History and Book University series, the Bhavan has also published the results of researches and other activities of its

various branches and a fairly large number of very interesting works such as the Bharatiya Vidya Series, the Singhi Jain Series, Glory that was Gurjara Desha; and Sri Munshi's own writings and books have been published by a branch known as the Prakasan Mandir of the Bhavan.

When so many constituent units of the Bhavan had been established, there was another one which was very necessary and that is an up-to-date library consisting of important publications in all languages. That need has been satisfied by the establishment of a branch called Munshi Saraswati Mandir which is an institution of culture with a library consisting of over 65,000 volumes and a museum of old and valuable palm-leaf manuscripts, coins, painting, etc.

These are the main constituents of the Bhavan which have come into existence during the course of 25 years since its foundation in 1938. All these activities of the Bhavan can be carried on, on a permanent basis, only if the Bhavan has a building of its own. A magnificent building of an artistic auditorium has been built at Chowpatty and it has become a cultural centre of Bombay city, and also the first of its kind in India. The dome of this building may be regarded as a coping stone of the edifice of Shri Munshi's creative mind. Munshi can certainly look, not merely with a sense of satisfaction, but also with a sense of pride, to his creative genius which has succeeded in establishing an Indian institution which is so unique in the whole of the country that it has become a household word among the educated people of India.

Bombay, indeed, has been the birthplace of the Bhavan. But the expanding activities of the Bhavan require that it should have branches in important cities of India. With the help of a magnificent donation from Sri Girdharilal Mehta of Calcutta, a big building of attractive design has been built in New Delhi where a branch of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan has been opened. Similarly, there are branches of the Bhavan at Madras, Kanpur, Calcutta, Bangalore, Baroda and Dakor at which last place an Arts and Science College has been recently established.

An institution is a work of art and if it is to prosper, it should possess a soul of its own which makes it a living entity. It is such an institution that can not only survive but also realise its ideals. Unfortunately, in our country, there are a number of institutions which have been found-

ed with great pomp and ceremony but which in course of time have decayed for want of such a soul in them. Munshi has put the Bhavan on such a firm basis that one may be sure that it will grow in strength, from day to day, expanding the spheres of its usefulness and popularity with the increasing demand for knowledge of our ancient culture and civilisation.

The Bhavan may be likened to an ancient mango tree which being well-watered, well-manured and well-nourished, has each of its branches laden with luscious fruits. Each constituent activity of the Bhavan is just like such a mango fruit, which ripens by the common sap rising up from its spreading roots deep down in the soil of India.

So long as the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan lasts, and there is no doubt that it will last as long as our cultural heritage lasts, Munshi's name will be gratefully remembered by our future generations as of one who truly inherited, richly transformed and transmitted in an enduring manner the great heritage of our holy land. It will continue to fulfil its aims and ideals if the work of the Bhavan is carried on with the vision, energy and enterprise with which he has nursed it for the last twenty-five years.

APOSTLE OF INDIAN RENAISSANCE

K. M. PANIKKAR

There are few aspects of India's re-birth in the 20th century with which Munshi has not been directly concerned. Of his part in the national movement, it is not necessary to speak here. More significant than his great services to the political life are his achievements in the field of literature, education, history and the revival of Sanskrit. I am not qualified to speak of Munshi's contributions to Gujarati literature; but, I am assured by people who know that his historical and other novels mark a definite stage in the evolution of modern Gujarati. The remarkable complex of educational institutions including the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan of which he is the guiding spirit is testimony enough to his valuable and abiding services to the cause of university education. But no less significant is his contribution to popular education through the ever-expanding library of low-priced volumes known as Bhavan's Book University. Through this scheme he has succeeded in bringing within reach of the poorer educated classes the classics of Indian thought and tradition. It was, on a small scale, India's first "paperback revolution".

The Sanskrit Vishva Parishad, which was established under Munshi's guidance, is the realisation of another of his great ideas. It is an institution with which the traditional Sanskrit *pathasalas* and other specialised schools are affiliated and it speaks for Sanskrit scholars trained on orthodox lines. It seeks to encourage Sanskrit scholarship as the basis of Indian humanistic studies and has had notable success in awakening popular interest and governmental activity.

All these achievements are undoubtedly important in themselves, as contributing to the cultural renaissance of India, but to my mind the most abiding of Munshi's contributions to India is the great 10-volume History of the Indian People which is now nearing its completion under his active leadership. No nation can grow to its stature or function effectively as a member of the world-family unless it has a historical image of itself. The ancient image of the Hindus derived

mainly through the *puranas* provided no historical self-image or political background. The image which the Muslim historians created on which the British based themselves in the beginning, was partial and sectarian. When, as a result of many decades of literary, archaeological and epigraphical research, modern historians were able to reconstruct India's past, it was inevitably in uneven patches. No connected history of India came out of it and such volumes as the Cambridge History of India were not only biased in point of view and presentation but devoid of perspective. The attempts of Indian historians under the auspices of the Indian Historical Congress and the patronage of eminent political leaders, after promising starts, seemed to flounder on administrative and financial rocks. It is Munshi's leadership, ability to organise and capacity to collect around him men who could work with devotion that finally endowed India with a comprehensive and authoritative history, written by the most eminent scholars available. This will be not only his abiding monument but his greatest contribution to Indian renaissance.

Humanist, litterateur, administrator, educationist and restorer of ancient temples, K.M. Munshi has contributed to all aspects of India's cultural life; but it would be as the inspirer and organiser of a great national history of India that his services to Indian culture would be longest remembered.

A REALISTIC IDEALIST

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

I take the opportunity, on the occasion of the attainment of his 76th birth-day by Kanaiyalal M. Munshi, to felicitate him and to wish him in the interests of the nation a full span of 100 years of peaceful and happy life as well as continuous success in his endeavour. Munshi can be described as one of the builders of Modern India. The versatility of his genius is as remarkable as his width of vision and his unique personality. He is at the same time a Historian and a Jurist, an Educationist and a Thought-Leader, a Political Worker and a Nationalist, a Diplomat and an Administrator, and above all one of the foremost Creative Literary Artists of India. Munshi has made significant contribution in all these departments of life in present-day India. Moreover, he is one of the foremost exponents of Indian Culture in all its aspects, and in addition to that a Builder and an Organiser who has established a flourishing Institution of great human and cultural value in the shape of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.

I had the privilege of knowing Munshi for a long number of years, and after having admired him from a distance, it was a great good fortune for me to be in intimate contact with him on many an occasion, mostly educational and cultural. He is an idealist, but at the same time he does not forget realities. He understands that in a progressive nation change of policy is a corollary to change of circumstances. This he made clear in many a matter, and I am reminded particularly of the language question in India when it was thought patriotic to forget the importance of the English language in the Indian scene and the great services it did for the modernisation of the mind of India and for fostering Indian unity and bringing to us in India the greatest things in science and the humanities, in thought and philosophy. The value of Sanskrit for us in India, Sanskrit which has been described as "the symbol of our Seniority among the Nations of the World", he has understood in a way which very few of our Statesmen and Educationists have been able to do; and the services to Sanskrit and Indian culture through the

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan are among the most hopeful signs of a new Indian Renaissance and of the vitality of Indian culture.

In literature, his place in Gujarati language is now supreme. Through his historical and social novels, through his essays, through his writings in the comic vein, his dramas and other works, he has given to Gujarati its greatest impetus in recent years. He can be counted among the best and the highest in the literatures in the modern Indian languages; and in speaking about his achievements and his place in literature, one can only think of Bankim Chandra Chatterji and Sarat Chandra Chatterji in Bengali, Prem Chand in Hindi and Vallathol in Malayalam; and we are also reminded of Rabindranath in Indian and World Literature as a whole. The extent of his literary output is as great and all-embracing as have been his services to his country in the other domains.

Such a full and versatile man is a rare gift of God to any people; and in the words of the Gita, as a personality full of superior powers, of grace and of strength, he can be looked upon as a fragment of the lustre of the Supreme:

यद् यद् विभूतिमत्सत्त्वं श्रीमदूर्जितमेव वा ।
तत्तदेवावगच्छ त्वं मम तेजोंशसंभवम् ।।

MUNSHI

OUTSTANDING GUJARATI LITTERATEUR

VISHNUPRASAD R. TRIVEDI

Two outstanding writers of Gujarat in the twenties of this century are Mahatma Gandhi and Munshi. Indeed, Gujarati literature of today would have been less vital and varied without them. Both of them exerted a powerful influence on contemporary writing. Their literary work like their other activities had a dynamism of its own. Gandhiji's influence was essentially moral and it created and encouraged a prose which was simple, chaste, persuasive and restrained. The influence of Munshi was primarily aesthetic. His prose is vigorous and consciously personal. Gandhi's prose is distinctive and individual in its utter simplicity, sincerity and deliberate social aim. Prose in the hands of both attained an ease and freedom almost unknown before their time. Good literature meant for joy and edification as well as for purposive activity became now available to the man of ordinary understanding and culture.

As a boy of lively imagination and strong sensibility Munshi read many English novels; and in College days he felt the spell of Shri Aurobindo. He has retained that spell. While he derives his sense for the romantic, the dramatic, the heroic and ludicrous and a sense of unified construction from the West, his nationalism, his philosophy of active life and his urge for spiritual integration bear the stamp of Sri Aurobindo. Naturally the texture of Munshi's personality as revealed in his novels, plays, autobiography, essays, biographical sketches. travelogues, letters, and criticism is complex. These show a rapid movement, quick creation of character, spectacle and drama, and incisive thought and rippling wit. Even malicious fun is not anathema to him.

Munshi came to write in Gujarati almost by chance when he was just toiling as an advocate and the vision of a prosperous life seemed distant. But he found an adequate and supple instrument for self-expression and self-realisation; and it may be said that though the advocate is peering through all his work, he has realised himself more in his

literary and cultural creations than in his activities as a politician or a pleader.

Munshi has a genius for the romantic and the comic. He has of course written stories, novels, and plays with a very serious aim and intent. In the plays with the *puranic* or historical theme he comes quite near true tragedy, but his forte is in romance and comic treatment. He is equally at home in tragic themes. There is a tragic compulsion in *Tarpana* which does not however attain the full stature of a tragedy, and a pathetic irony in *Dhruvaswamini Devi. Dhruvaswamini Devi* is a dark comedy. But *Kakani Sashi* is a perfect comedy. Munshi has made a very revealing remark: "A jolly good laugh or even malicious fun, made at the expense of a venerable thing, is too precious a thing in life to be missed even in literature." This is both his strength and weakness. The temptation to caricature is irresistible to such an author. You cannot always understand life through laughter. Perhaps tears of sympathy are a better guide. Munshi's sympathy, when he deals with contemporary life, is arrested. His novels on these themes tend to become novels of manners rather than of inner currents of life. Naturally his genius finds freer play in historical novels. In fact he is the creator of the Gujarati historical novel. In *Gujarat-no-Nath, Prithivi Vallabh, Jay Somnath,* and *Rajadhiraj* his imagination has enough scope for adventure, heroism and romantic passion. And he is most successful here. He sets his beautiful and love-lorn heroines like Minal, Manjari, Mrinal and Chaula and his valiant heroes like Munjal, Kak, Jayasimha, Munja and Bhimadeva in the colourful perspective of historical past. Modern sentiment and aspiration appear in contexts and criteria removed from the present. Interest in his story never flags. Its burden is carried forward by vivid characters, sharply relieved against one another and brought out in adroit conversation. Indeed, dialogue is the most arresting element in Munshi's novels. Perhaps it is fitter for drama; but it serves its purpose well in carrying dramatic tensions and situations to a climax. In his historical novels again he chooses events of momentous consequence for his concentrated attention, and that makes for more impressive formal beauty. This cannot be said of his social novels, not even of *Tapasvini,* though here in this latest novel the theme is a moral crisis in the tense atmosphere of political agitation and commotion.

Generally, the central personal issue in Munshi's novels does not go beyond the struggle for supremacy between a man of exceptional sagacity, learning, steadfastness or valour and a masterful woman of exquisite charm and accomplishments.

Owing to this preoccupation, large areas of man's joy and suffering, his endeavour and aspiration—though quite within his reach—entirely escape him. He does not plumb the deepest recesses of commonalty. While his early historical romances—*Patan-ni Prabhuta, Gujarat-no-Nath, Rajadhiraj*—are aesthetically the most attractive of his novels, they lack the mature wisdom of his later criticism and letters. The artist of the novels has grown into a Kulapati and a Statesman.

As a novelist Munshi has shown the right way to his successors. If the novel is to be an interesting story, the author should not pack it with his learning, wisdom or criticism except when it is absolutely necessary for understanding character and catastrophe. The movement of action must be ceaseless and the dialogue must be dramatic. He should free himself from prudery and moral inhibitions if he would understand life and be true to it in art. A style fit for a treatise is not equal to the task of a story-teller or playwright. His idiom may be polite and elegant, but it must be simple and direct. Language and style are the most immediate means of creating verisimilitude.

Munshi threw off his short stories and some plays almost as a pastime. But in both forms they are the beginnings of the modern short story and the modern short play. In these genres he showed the way to Batubhai, Dhansukhlal, Yashwant Pandya, Chandravadan Mehta and others. A short story must be a pointed story and must concentrate on a single event, inner or outer. The indispensable requisite of a short play is its stageability with restricted proportions and it may not require the elaborate paraphernalia of a theatre.

Munshi's personal charm and friendliness attracted a large group of friends, old and young,—men like Narasinharao Divatia, Chandrashanker Pandya, Vibhaker, Vijayrai Vaidya, Batubhai Umarvadia, Jyotindra Dave and others. He founded his 'Sahitya Samsad' and started *Gujarat*, a monthly magazine. Through these, and later, as a builder of Gujarati Sahitya Parishad, he encouraged Gujarati creative writing, criticism and scholarship. He set the tone of romantic and

creative criticism; and Vijayrai and Vishwanath became the outstanding critics of the new school. Munshi's own philosophical criticism is meagre but his essays on Narasinha, Premananda, and Narmad showed what imaginative criticism could do. His history of Gujarati literature in English—*Gujarat and its Literature*—has remained a standard work of its kind. The compass of survey and scholarship, the enthusiasm and insight, and a severe attachment to pure literary values have made it a classic in its genre. Its verve and unfailing readability have helped to establish the claim of Gujarati literature as a vital and significant contribution to Indian Literature as a whole. As a voluminous writer of varied gifts Munshi has raised the stature of Gujarati literature, infused new life into it and consolidated a particular phase of modern Indian Culture.

PROTAGONIST OF HINDI*

RAMDHARI SINHA DINKAR

Among Indian novelists of outstanding merit and national renown we may include such stalwarts as Bankimchandra, Hari Narayan Apte, Saratchandra, Rabindranath, Premchand and Kanhaiyalal Maneklal Munshi.

It is debatable whether the genius of a writer suffers on account of his participation and achievements in other spheres besides literature. One thing, however, is certain that his success in non-literary activities makes a proper evaluation of his achievements as a writer difficult. This is true as long as the writer is alive. Once he shuffles off the mortal coil, he also frees himself of the petty animosities of those whom he had failed to please. It may also happen that the reputation a writer has earned in other fields gradually fades away. In any case, what are left behind are his writings and their real worth can be judged only after his death.

These thoughts occur to me, because they apply so much to Munshiji. That basically Munshi's personality is cast in the mould of a writer, I have not the shadow of a doubt. His genius is that of poet and novelist. And this aspect of his personality is not evanescent; it is something that will last for good. He ranks among those outstanding Indian writers of the 20th century, whose number is not more than four or five at present.

Munshi is not only a novelist. He has made his mark as one of the great legal brains of the country. He has been a successful minister in his State and in the Central Government. In Hyderabad he shouldered the responsibility of the Administrator of that State during a very difficult period. He was the Governor of Uttar Pradesh after Independence. One cannot say whether Munshi subordinated his literary activities to these material pursuits or duties, but his literary reputation has certainly been overshadowed by his success in these other spheres. Even now his complete absorption in the day to day work of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan is responsible for his deviation from the stream of Rasa to that of knowledge.

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*Translated from Hindi original.

Whatever the field of his choice, Munshi has shone in it by virtue of his outstanding qualities. On whatever work he has undertaken he has put the unmistakable seal of his personality. He is one of those politicians who have shed lustre by their own prowess. For him there is no borrowed splendour or reflected glory. It seems astonishing how one person could accomplish so much. It seems as if literature could not bind his personality within its limits; like the waters of an overflowing lake, it flowed into the river of politics.

I first heard Munshi's name in the days of the salt satyagraha; after his appointment as the Home Minister of Bombay Province in 1937, his fame spread far and wide. It was during these days that I made my acquaintance with his novels through their Hindi translations and I have been an admirer of his writings since then. I had not the good fortune of meeting him in person till 1945 when he came to Udaipur to preside over the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. I immediately felt the impact of his tremendous personality. The face at once sparkling bright and gently soft, the simplicity of his dress consisting of white cap, long coat and dhoti—he was what I had imagined him to be after reading his works. In his works I had seen Indian culture in its glory, Hinduism in all its radiance, the spirit of the Sanskrit poets at their best, and had realised a vision of beauty surrounded by bright flames. When I saw him standing there on the dais, I felt these very rays of light emanating from his personality. There was a craving in my heart—if only I could meet and talk with this man of genius, what a soul-stirring experience and source of inspiration that would be for me.

But as ill-luck would have it, I was to be denied the opportunity then. I was asked to preside over the poets' gathering that night, but due to a bitter altercation amongst some of them, I had to cancel the programme and go away. The next day the matter was brought before Munshi for inquiry. Being the chairman of that gathering, I feared I would be called upon to give evidence. This mortified me. I did not want to associate my name with the disgusting affair any further. So I went miles away from the scene and spent the evening wandering about in the city. When I returned at night, I found that a search had been made for me, as I had expected. When I could not be found, Munshi complimented me on my sagacity and described my absence as a thoughtful precaution. I cherished this as the only time I had occasion to earn praise from Munshiji!

After the conference at Udaipur, Munshi's fame spread among Hindi-speaking people as the leader of the Hindi movement. They began to place high hopes in him. In the Constituent Assembly he fulfilled their hopes ably and skilfully. There had been no bitterness in the debates, but when the question of Hindi came up, the Constituent Assembly lost its serenity. There were bitter differences of opinion. The disagreement was so violent that it worried and disturbed even a man of steel like Sardar Patel, but the two persons who braved the storm and piloted the ship of national unity safely were Sri Kanhaiyalal Maneklal Munshi and the late Sri Gopalaswami Ayyangar. The formula evolved by these far-sighted statesmen became the basis of the relevant clauses in the Constitution. They did not merely evolve the formula but actively carried out a campaign in its favour among the members of the Assembly. The newspapers of the day used to be full of discussions of the Munshi-Ayyangar Formula and the whole of Delhi was talking of nothing else. The Indian people as a whole will always gratefully remember the far-sighted service rendered to the country by Munshi in making Hindi attain the stature of the national language.

When Munshi's literary personality was shaping itself, the thoughts, the ideology and philosophy of great men like Bankimchandra and Vivekananda, Dayananda and Aurobindo, Ranade, Agarkar and Tilak were holding sway over the minds of our people. The age laid a great emphasis on heroism and sacrifice. In philosophy, it preached the positive doctrine of action and attacked the negative ideal of renuciation. One of the important causes of the decline of the Indian people was that they had always held life as transient and the world as unsubstantial and ephemeral. The worldly life of the Indian people had thus become illusory because they had looked upon the world as an illusion. To counteract this negative attitude to life, the leaders of Indian Renaissance brought about a resurgence of hope, of an optimistic and positive attitude towards life. They propounded the view that a complete renunciation of the pleasures of life weakened the will of the people and that a religion based on non-action and renunciation culminated in becoming the antithesis of life itself. The ideal of manhood, they argued, should be not a man who runs away from life to devote himself to the pursuit of yoga in the forest, but one who stands bravely in the battle-field of life, fighting the vicissitudes of fortune and hacking away the obstacles. This wave of revival tried to establish

firmly the value of the family man, the social man, the fighting man, the man living his life with zest. Later, however, when the country's leadership passed to Gandhiji, there was a reversion to the ideal of non-violence and with it, to a certain extent, that of renunciation.

In the same way, the ideology of cultural equality too had spread in the country before the advent of Gandhiji. The demand for economic equality became pressing, however, after the struggle for independence became more intense and our leaders began to be inspired by the Russian ideology.

It is my firm belief that the basic creative force in Munshi's writings is to be traced to the pre-Gandhian age. Munshi has not written panegyrics of non-violence, nor has he given any importance to renunciation. He has preached such glorious and vigorous sermons on courage, bravery and sacrifice as to take a place of pride and honour in Indian literature. This India of his vision is not an India of Buddha, Ashoka and Gandhi, but an India of Parashurama, Vasistha and Vishwamitra. The leaders of this India are as strong and vigorous as they are pure and holy.

Parashurama, as Munshiji envisages him in his "Bhagawan Parashurama" is the most perfect and developed form of manhood. The picture of the sage as presented by tradition is that of a cruel, revengeful man who for the sake of revenge, wiped off the Kshatriyas from the earth twenty-one times. The Parashurama of Munshi's imagining is not as senseless and cruel as this. He killed only those Kshatriya kings who killed and enslaved sages and forest dwellers. He brandished his battle axe only to establish the rule of dharma firmly in a barbarian society and prior to taking up arms against them, he had warned them that man-hunting and human sacrifice were sins against humanity. Explaining his "purpose of war", he said to the Yadavas: "By tradition you and the Sharyatas have been stealing each other's womenfolk and cattle and fighting battles on that account. My war is not like this. I am not interested in these petty battles for petty causes. I am waging this war for the establishment of dharma. We cannot be defeated in this and live."

Until recently, such an utterance would have been described as fascistic. But now we know that things are not so simple. Even those who look upon Buddha, Ashoka and Gandhi as their ideals, cannot

hope to live unless the spirit of Parashurama is once more invoked. The Parashuramas of any age are not mere accidents; they are born as an answer to the sins of the Sahasrarjunas.

According to tradition, Parashurama was a celibate, but in his novel, Munshi has him married to Lomaharshini. The emotional situation, under the stress of which Parashurama took the momentous decision to marry was full of psychological undercurrents. Loma was his childhood companion. Parashurama had never imagined that she would become his wife. Kalvini, the wife of the sage Kukshi, invited him to her home and in the utter seclusion of the place, she tried to seduce him. Enraged, he struck her with a whip and went away. Later, he felt the need of a spouse and married Loma. This was the *rishidharma* for the Vedic age. The sages knew that the suppression of passion was almost an unattainable discipline and that by itself it did not encourage the progress of humanity appreciably. Hence they looked upon debauchery, and not conjugal life, as sin.

In the story of Parashurama the ideal man of the Vedic age comes alive. The sages were heroic, intensely religious and yet human. Parashurama advised a mistress of Sahasrarjuna to demand of him sanctification of their relationship by the rites of marriage. He thus kindled the flame of self-respect in her.

The same Parashurama was caught in a thrilling situation for the sake of the stigma his mother was made to suffer. His father, Jamadagni, looked upon his wife as a fallen woman and sinner and wanted her to be killed. Though Parashurama held his mother sacred, when he was ordered by his father to kill her, he was ready to obey. Jamadagni realized his mistake and in his agony cried out, "Renuka, O Renuka, I killed you, but your son gave you life. Ram, my son, throw away that axe. My vow, I take back."

I believe that the popular tradition about Parashurama is wrong and that Munshi's interpretation of his character is right. If Renuka were a sinner, we would not be worshipping her in our temples as the Mother-Goddess. And if Parashurama had been so cruel as to murder his mother, we would not be worshipping him too as a great sage.

India now is standing at the crossroads of history, and Munshi's novels will always be a source of inspiration and strength in choosing the correct path.

CHAMPION OF ENGLISH

K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

Munshi's contribution to English may be evaluated under three heads:

1. his own writings in English;
2. his work as Editor; and
3. his advocacy for the retention of English in India and giving it a continuing role in our national life.

Munshi's own writings in English have on the whole been more functional and utilitarian than his outstanding work in Gujarati. In so far as he was—and is—a creature of the imagination, he has sought self-expression through his own mother tongue. Everybody knows that Munshi is quite a substantial part of modern Gujarati literature—both as creator and as inspirer. But Munshi is also a man of intellect, a political thinker and a hot-gospeller of our opulent Sanskritic culture, and he has found in English prose a fit medium for expressing these facets of his many-sided personality. His *Gujarat and Its Literature* and *The Glory of Gurjara Desa* are both written in English. A great deal of industry, scholarship and sensitive interpretation has gone into these impressive cultural histories, and his lucid exposition and clarity of expression make the perusal of these books both a pleasure and an instruction. Munshi's commitment to the cause of Indian culture is revealed also in *Somnath—the Shrine Eternal, The Epic of the Ancients*, and *Fundamentals of Indian Culture.*

Munshi's *I Follow the Mahatma* is both autobiography, and a seasoned tribute to Mahatma Gandhi. As iron is drawn to the magnet, people like Munshi—hundreds and thousands of them—followed the call of the Mahatma, and like wave upon wave they swelled the oceanic movement that ultimately swept the alien bureaucracy away. The first wave came in the early 1920's; the second in 1930, at the time of the Salt Satyagraha; and the third, and final overwhelming one, in 1942. Munshi and Lilavati Munshi played notable parts in the national movement for liberation, and *I Follow the Mahatma* particularly highlights

this significant segment of their life. The book can also be read as a vivid sketch of the Gandhi Era in Indian politics.

A first-class mind wedded to incessant industry: such is the phenomenon that is Munshi. Many are the fruits of this union. His casual essays are collected in *Sparks from the Anvil.* Some of his lectures and Convocation Addresses are gathered in the volume, *Our Greatest Need.* His formal speeches as Governor of Uttar Pradesh have also been published. His versatility and wide-awake consciousnes, his curiosity and rich sensibility, his constant anxiety about our future, his capacity to feel at home and make creative use of any situation, all are evidenced in his many lucid discourses. It is a pity his despatches as the Agent of the Government of India in Hyderabad before the 'police action' remain unpublished. Scholarship mingles with idealism and practical sagacity in many of his academic discourses, and the educationist and the *rasika* achieve co-existence with the patriot and the administrator.

During the last several years, Munshi has been contributing the now famous 'Kulapati's Letters' to the columns of *Bhavan's Journal.* As the organizing spirit behind the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Munshi is indeed the 'Kulapati' to the thousands of students who are receiving instruction in its many institutions all over India. As these letters are being published in the widely circulated *Bhavan's Journal* fortnight after fortnight, they reach an audience even wider than the student community. Jawaharlal Nehru's letters from prison to his daughter, Indira, were collected later as *Letters from a Father to a Daughter* and *Glimpses of World History.* But Munshi's letters are addressed to no one in particular, yet are they read by tens of thousands as if they are intimate communications from the Kulapati to themselves and themselves alone. It is an extraordinary feat of sustained self-revelation mingling memory, reverie, speculation, argument and exhortation. Some of the letters have been collected, but many more remain uncollected.

From the central fount of Munshi's editorial inspiration have flowed many streams of fruitful literary and cultural activity. For about a decade Munshi edited with great vigour and versatility the weekly journal, *The Social Welfare,* and its successor, *The New Democrat.* Their lives spanned across the war and the years of national re-

construction and constitution-building, and they enjoyed a status, and exerted an influence, comparable somewhat to that of *The New Statesman* in Britain. It was again Munshi's privilege to plan, inspire and direct the publication of the projected 10-volume *History and Culture of the Indian People.* The work began nearly 20 years ago, with Dr. R. C. Majumdar as General Editor, and was assured of the cooperation of numerous savants drawn from all parts of India. Several volumes have come out already, and each of them bears the unmistakable impact of Munshi's organizing genius. The launching of the 'Bhavan's Book University' under the general editorship of himself and N. Chandrasekhara Aiyer, and on the latter's death, of R. R. Diwakar, is of course a land-mark in book-publication in this country.

These elegantly produced and modestly priced paperbacks have become as popular as the Penguins and Pelicans, and titles like Rajaji's *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* and some of Munshi's own books have become best-sellers. These books cover a variety of aspects of Indian culture, and they are really a growing 'Book University'—for, after all, hasn't Newman declared that a true university is but a collection of books? Not the least of Munshi's claims to editorial originality and distinction is the conception of the *Bhavan's Journal,* the fortnightly that has found its way into many homes during the last 8 years of its adventurous and meritorious career. Strictly a magazine devoted to India's traditional, but also perennial, values, this journal has stormed the gates of achievement—a fact that should gladden the hearts of all students of Indian culture. 'Kulapati's Letters' continue to appear in the Journal, which includes besides translations from the Sanskrit classics, pencil sketches of our great contemporaries, and short discourses on philosophy, religion, ethics, and spirituality.

As regards his plea for the retention of English in India and giving it a continuing role in our national life, the point that needs to be made is that, although Munshi loves Gujarati, venerates Sanskrit, and believes in a future for Hindi as an all-India language, he still feels that his admiration for English and his advocacy for its continuance are in no way incompatible with his other loves. For an Indian, his mother tongue, his sacred tongue (Sanskrit), an all-India language like Hindi and this rich international language (English) are the four lamps illumining his mind, and the lighting up of one in no way diminishes the

brilliance of the others. A room is all the brighter when, instead of one lamp, four lamps burn together. Munshi realizes the debt of modern India to English and to the culture that we have assimilated through English. He has acknowledged how the Magna Carta has been brought into Indian law in its modern form by British and Indian jurists and legislators, and now forms an integral part of our Constitution. As Munshi has put it,

> "The introduction of English in India was no ordinary event. When English came to us, the world entered a new stage. India joined the brotherhood of the English-speaking world. It led, as I have said, to a cultural upheaval in India, to a wide vision. The barriers of latitude, colour and race were broken down; the East mingled with the West in the sphere of the mind; a great step was taken towards establishing direct human intercourse, and sweeping away national frontiers.... today English is ours, and with its aid we can make ourselves felt more than through any other agency. It would, therefore, be criminal to ignore or neglect English in this country".

No ambiguity or circumspection here: this is the voice of a statesman doubled with an educationist and man of culture. And India would be wise to heed him.

Many have been Munshi's services to India, and he is still young at seventy-five. May his services increase still further, and may his life be crowned with many more laurels.

CRUSADER FOR SANSKRIT

M. PATANJALI SASTRI

I am happy to have this opportunity of paying my tribute of admiration and regard to my esteemed friend K. M. Munshi on the auspicious occasion of his 75th birthday.

There are many facets of Munshi's personality—lawyer, litterateur, politician, administrator and educationist—and his amazing versatility and achievements in the various spheres are well-known. I propose, however, to confine my remarks here to his notable services in the cause of promotion of Sanskrit learning.

A passionate lover of Sanskrit and Sanskritic culture, Munshi found that after the advent of the British rule in India, the traditional system of Sanskrit education which had persisted through the vicissitudes of India's long history, was dwindling away and was threatened with extinction, and an alien system based on Western culture and expressed through the medium of English was gaining ground in the country. He felt that the indigenous system which embraced all known branches of sacred and secular learning and had succeeded in binding the diverse linguistic and religious communities of India in a common pattern of culture and outlook should not be allowed to suffer extinction, but should be revitalised and re-organized with elements of modern knowledge. Accordingly, he founded the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan with its headquarters at Bombay and branches at important centres in the country. The institution has various departments devoted to the revival and propagation of India's ancient culture and learning in all its branches. The main constituent unit is an Oriental college called Mumbadevi Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya. Established in 1944, it not only imparts instruction through the medium of Sanskrit in different branches of Sanskrit studies but conducts its own examinations and awards diplomas and certificates, some of which are recognized by the Government of Maharashtra as equivalent to the B.A. and M.A. degrees for purposes of appointment in schools and colleges. Apart from these higher Sanskrit examinations, it has organized a system of what are called

Saral Sanskrit Examinations in elementary courses with a view to popularising the study of Sanskrit among ordinary people who have no time or inclination to prosecute regular studies. The examinations are conducted by centres established all over the country, the text books for these examinations being prepared and published by the Bhavan itself. The institution has also a research wing, Samshodhan Mandir, where research is carried on in Indology and the allied languages of Pali and Prakrit, with a number of notable publications to its credit. Another important line of activities of the Bhavan consists in the publication of books relating to India's cultural heritage. Believing as he did that a true and adequate history of India and the development of her age-long culture had not yet been planned and executed, Munshi organized a project for the preparation and publication of an authoritative "History and Culture of the Indian People" in ten volumes under the general editorship of the well-known Indologist and historian, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, assisted by a competent body of experts who had specialised in the different epochs of India's long history, the whole team working under the direction of Munshi himself. Beginning with the Vedic Age, the monumental work is nearing completion with the ninth volume dealing with the British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance now said to be in the press. Apart from this, the publication department has already brought out about a hundred books dealing with various aspects of India's heritage under the general title "Book University Series". Needless to say, Munshi is the inspirer and moving spirit of all these varied activities of the Bhavan of which he is fittingly called the "Kulapati".

Impressive as all this contribution is to the promotion and propagation of Sanskrit learning and culture, this is not the whole story. The aftermath of the Second World War left the world rent by conflict, bitterness and distrust. Hiroshima heralded the age of atomic destruction. Man seemed to be moving irresistibly along the road to catastrophe and civilization seemed to be on the verge of collapse. Was there no hope for the strife-torn world—no way of bringing back men to the pathways of peace and reconstruction?

To Munshi's sensitive and humanistic mind, India's noble heritage and all the values it has stood for, of which Sanskrit has been the vehicle of expression through the ages, provided the answer. His vision of

the role of Sanskrit learning broadened in the new context, and he felt that Sanskritic culture, with its spiritual overtones, might, if effectively propagated on a global scale, stem the tide of the fiercely competitive materialism overtaking the world, and by instilling into the minds of men its traditional values of truth, righteousness and piety help achieve universal amity and brotherhood. To this end, he laboured hard to organize a World Academy of Sanskrit which would link up institutions in different countries devoted to Sanskrit studies and co-ordinate their activities so as to promote and propagate Sanskrit and Sanskritic culture more effectively. Accordingly, the Sanskrit Vishwa Parishad was established in 1951 with the declared object among others of "working in collaboration with all other Associations throughout the world with similar aims or which work in the same field." The former President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, is to be the President of the Parishad during his life-time and Munshi has been the Vice-President and Chairman of the Council of the Parishad. It is, perhaps, not to be expected that this ambitious project would make much headway outside India in the cold war atmosphere prevailing in the world, though the Parishad has already established several regional and local branches abroad. In India, however, it has more than twenty regional branches and about two hundred local branches, and the Parishad's varied activity in the cause of promotion of Sanskrit learning and culture has been perhaps the greatest single factor in awakening the people of the country to the importance and value of Sanskrit studies and the Government of the Union and the States to their responsibilities and obligations in that behalf. The Parishad holds annual sessions at places associated with a tradition of Sanskrit learning, where learned pandits and scholars gather and discuss various topics of interest to lovers of Sanskrit and explore ways and means of popularising Sanskrit language and literature throughout the country. At its fourth session held at Tirupati in Andhra Pradesh, which was attended by about 1,500 delegates from all parts of the country, a Committee was appointed to urge upon the Government of India the importance of Sanskrit with a view to secure Governmental aid and support for the promotion of its study. Accordingly, in February 1956, the Committee interviewed the top-ranking authorities and submitted a memorandum setting forth certain concrete proposals which, as resolved by the Parishad, should be considered and implemented by the Government. Among the proposals

were: "(1) the Government should appoint an All-India Board of Sanskrit Studies for co-ordinating, standardising and promoting Sanskrit studies all over India by both modern and traditional methods, and (2) the Government should establish a Central Institute to promote higher study and learning and research in Sanskrit." As a first step towards the fulfilment of this demand, the Government of India appointed in October 1956 a Sanskrit Commission to investigate into the present state of Sanskrit education in India and to make recommendations for its promotion. The Commission recommended, *inter alia,* the establishment of a Central Sanskrit Board and a centrally administered Sanskrit University for higher studies and research in Sanskrit. In pursuance of these recommendations, the Government of India constituted a Central Sanskrit Board in 1958 and also established the Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha at Tirupati in 1961. Thus the establishment of these two centrally sponsored institutions, which are important landmarks in the progress of Sanskrit learning in the country, can fairly be traced through a chain of proximate events, to Munshi's ceaseless efforts to the same end.

Great indeed is Munshi's service to Sanskrit.

May God grant him many more years to serve the same cause.

CREATIVE EDUCATIONIST

R. C. MAJUMDAR

In the midst of his multifarious activities K. M. Munshi has devoted considerable time and attention to the problem of education in India. Like many others he realized the inadequacy and unsatisfactory character of the educational system now in vogue, and was deeply impressed by the crying need to change its character so as to make it more suitable to our national needs and the genius of our culture. He did not, however, believe in tinkering remedies by way of slight additions, here and there, in the existing curriculum of studies and the method of teaching. He thought in general terms of a radical readjustment of the whole system of education on the basis of a true conception of its object and the most fruitful means of achieving the same. He elaborated his ideas in a number of short essays published in 1946 in the form of a booklet entitled *The Creative Art of Life.* This gives us an insight into his thoughts and suggestions about education which go down to the very root of the matter, and will repay careful study by anyone who seeks to understand the basic problem of Indian education.

According to Munshi modern education in India has been a failure, and he attributes it to the following causes, among others:

1. The extreme emphasis which it lays on the mastery of English.
2. The inferiority complex which it generates by stressing the greatness of Western heroes and Western culture.
3. The very small percentage of people to whom it is available.
4. Its purely informative character.
5. Its elective character, putting the same value on all subjects of study.
6. Its lack of correlation to Indian culture.

The first two of these defects are inter-allied, as the second really follows from the first. One may or may not agree with Munshi's view of the nature and origin of the education which India has been receiving

during British rule and since, and it is possible to argue that that education has played a very important role in the resurgence of India and re-integration of her culture after a long period of decay and disintegration. Nevertheless, we must all agree that time has come when we should carefully reconsider the proper place that the study of English should occupy in our system of education. There seems to be a general consensus of opinion that while English language and literature must continue to form subjects of our study, at least in higher stages of education, it need not form a compulsory subject in lower stages, and we should not put too great a premium on the mastery of English language. In other words, English language, like Englishmen today, would be welcome as our friends and helpers, but not tolerated as masters. The defect No. 2 would be automatically removed by increasing the importance of the study of Sanskrit and the regional language and literature.

As to the defect No. 3, Munshi expresses his views as follows: "It is the fundamental duty of the State in India, as elsewhere, to provide the costliest education, free to the deserving student. In the meantime, however, we must, as far as our means permit, uphold the first principle that no promising young man of character who believes in India and her Culture should be left without modern educational equipment by reason merely of want of funds." A little reflection will show that it is a political, social, and economic problem, rather than educational, and the country is already alive to it.

The first three defects pointed out by Munshi are thus of transitional character and have ceased to be of vital importance requiring a serious discussion. The remaining three, however, have come to be more or less permanent characteristics of our educational system, and Munshi has made a number of constructive suggestions for remedying their evil effects. He regards all the three as inter-related to some extent, and his scheme of educational reform is chiefly directed against them. It is therefore necessary to explain clearly the implication of each of them.

As regards No. 4, Munshi says:

"Modern education in India, as elsewhere, is growing more and more informative. More attention is paid to the learning of facts rather than the development of faculties. A student going up for

Matriculation, is, for instance, taught scraps of scientific knowledge, disconnected items of history, a little literature and elementary Mathematics. He is expected to cram up bits of information within a given time and when required, throw the required bits out at the examination. Our Universities protest against cramming and encourage it at the same time."

No. 5 is rather a novel expression and is thus explained by Munshi:

"The deterioration of education all the world over is mainly due to electivism. The word connotes that all subjects have an equal educational value. In modern educational systems it has transferred the emphasis from classical and historical studies to experimental and social sciences.... The underlying assumption is that a knowledge of elementary Chemistry has the same formative value for the student as the study of a literary masterpiece or the history of India, Greece or Rome.... Electivism goes further. It claims that the teacher or the parent can decide whether a child, in his teens, is fit to take up arts, science, commerce, or law. The bifurcation, which at one time was at the post-Intermediate stage, is now being pushed back to the Matriculation stage.... The result is that the organic unity of education provided by a minimum general course of studies has been disappearing."

As a consequence of this electivism 'modern education fails to teach permanent values to man though he may be equipped with scientific knowledge and skill. His interests are narrow as he is trained to look at life from the angle of his special subject. He has no equipment for a complete life; he scorns moral values and the possibility of a higher destiny for man.'

But Munshi does not merely offer negative criticism. He also gives us an idea of what he conceives to be the ideal education, which he calls formative or creative education. Such education means the full and harmonious development and artistically effective expression of *all* the faculties of man, such as the senses, imagination, mechanical skill, intellect, emotions and will. Such education emphasizes the value of self-discipline which enables a student to develop a personality which grows as he grows older. The underlying assumption is that each student has an individual nature and he must be taught to express it through thought, word, and deed. The highest object of education is

to teach the student to realize his possibilities to the fullest and so to fulfil himself that he may develop an all-round personality. "It is an error", says Munshi, "to suppose that a man is truly educated, because he is a good scientist or a literary man though a bad husband; because, he is a capable lawyer though a bad citizen; because, he is a good patriot but a moral wreck. Human life is one. It cannot be divided into compartments. And no one can evade his responsibility to life as a whole by claiming that he is devoted to a part of it".

Munshi has also discussed the sources or the mainspring of what he calls formative or creative education. It must, says he, draw its sustenance from the past history and culture of India. A student must know how this culture grew and developed and what it represents. As a concrete measure Munshi suggests that instead of a free choice from a wide variety of subjects, an 'intensive study of definite subjects of purely cultural interest should be insisted upon at the early college stage in order to make the student responsive to the higher values of life. The student must discover for himself the Aryan discipline, character and outlook, and make himself familiar with the sources of Indian culture such as the Upanishads, the *Gita*, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*.' It is necessary for this purpose to acquire at least a working knowledge of Sanskrit. This might seem to many a very tall order. But Munshi explains as follows what he means: "The study of Sanskrit need not involve the mastery of grammar. An elementary knowledge is sufficient. What is required is the general knowledge of the history of its literature; a familiarity with the classical masterpieces, if necessary with the aid of translations in an Indian language; and lastly, an intensive study of a few masterpieces." Such a basic knowledge of Sanskrit is an imperative need for all students, including those who go up for science or technical course. Expatiating on this point Munshi observes: "The importance of classical studies in general and the study of Sanskrit in particular, cannot be exaggerated. They give the student an insight into the permanent values of culture. It enables him to appraise works of art and literature, social and political theories and movements, individual and collective action in a proper perspective. Finally it imparts faith in the dignity of man and the supremacy of the Moral Order. It gives a living touch with the highest vision of beauty and sublimity given to man."

Munshi feels that the method of teaching also should be radically changed in order to impart creative education. The present relation between the teacher and student is absolutely incompatible with creative education. A teacher must be the guide, philosopher and friend of the student. This is impossible under the present system of education in schools and colleges. Generally speaking, the teacher meets his students at fixed periods in the class room, dictates notes or delivers a lecture, and then goes home, without having any further thought about them till the next class-period. Munshi says that "if India is to live, this system must be scrapped," and we must revive the old system of *Guru* as far as it is possible to do so under modern conditions of life. It is difficult for a teacher to take a personal interest in each student. "But", says Munshi, "if creative spirit has to be introduced in education it must be done, at any rate with respect to responsive and promising students," for, "without the personal inspiration and encouragement of a *Guru* the student's faculty for self-development remains stunted." But to do this it will be necessary to restore the teacher to his old dignity—that of a *Guru* in ancient India.

I have tried to give a brief outline of the fundamental concepts of the Creative Education which Munshi regards as essential for the regeneration of India. There is nothing revolutionary in it, for he has followed in the footsteps of two of the greatest sons of India in modern times, namely Swami Vivekananda and Aurobindo Ghose. Both of them have again and again stressed the main principles on which Munshi has built his structure of Creative Education—an elaboration of what Vivekananda called man-making education. Eminent Western educationists are also gradually veering round to the same view. Munshi has quoted the definition of education given by Derry, the President of Mary Grove College, Michigan, U.S.A., and I have purposely used the first part of it to explain what Munshi's Creative Education means. That these ideas are slowly gaining ground in this country is proved by the provision of humanistic studies even in the Technological Institutes established by the Central Government for the purpose of imparting the highest technical education. But the essential ideas of education, stressed by Munshi, have not yet been recognized in the higher educational institutions of this country. The reason probably is that while there is likely to be a general agreement over the fundamental or general concepts, real difficulty would be ex-

perienced in giving a concrete shape to them by devising a curriculum which will be generally acceptable to all. Munshi has referred to three attempts made in this direction during the last hundred years which resulted in the Gurukul, founded by Swami Shraddhanand, National Council of Education during the *Swadeshi* Movement in Bengal, and the Gujarat Vidyapith of Mahatma Gandhi. To this we may, perhaps add the Viswabharati of Rabindranath. But none of these has been a practical success, so far as it can be measured by the number of students attracted, the quality of those who came out of these institutions, and a general approval or imitation of their course and method of teaching as ushering in any distinct advance in our system of education. The great task before the country is, therefore, to draw up a concrete plan to realize the aims and objects of the Creative Education through the existing institutions, with suitable modifications.

One might naturally inquire whether Munshi himself took any active steps to give effect to his ideas. It may be pointed out in reply that the whole conception of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan is based on them. Its publications are intended to give a cultural background to the University studies. *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, the first great undertaking of this institution to be completed in 11 volumes of which seven are already published, may claim to be the first comprehensive general history of India which has devoted far greater space to the cultural development of the nation than to the political history. Numerous other publications of the Bhavan have been selected, specially with a view to the spread and appreciation of Indian culture among the people at large. Munshi has also organized a World Academy of Sanskrit to popularize the study of Sanskrit, and educate public opinion about its importance in any scheme of national education. These are laudable attempts and are sure to improve the state of things. But in these days, when every aspect of society is in a way controlled by the State, and therefore dominated by Party politics, no effective solution is possible until it becomes possible to remove the educational problem from political level. Till then all we can do is to spread healthy ideas about education, such as Munshi is doing, and for which he deserves our best thanks.

PIONEER OF RESEARCH

P. G. SHAH

Munshi is a versatile and unique personality. He has made outstanding contributions in many fields. But when a man is a prolific, brilliant and entertaining writer of fiction, drama, memoirs, biographies, history and culture, the research which has gone into his works is forgotten.

Between 1915 and 1954, among other activities and writings, Munshi produced a saga of the Chalukyan Gujarat (A.D. 940 to A.D. 1299) through his historical novels, *Patan-ni Prabhuta, Gujarat-no-Nath, Prithvi Vallabh, Rajadhiraj, Jay Somnath* and *Bhagna Paduka.* During this period, the research that he carried on in the history of Gujarat resulted, besides several articles, in two voluminous books, the *Imperial Gurjaras* and its popular edition *Glory That Was Gurjaradesa,* covering practically the history of the period from the fall of the Valabha kingdom of the Maitrakas in the 8th century to the destruction of Gujarat by Allauddin Khilji in A.D. 1299. Anyone who reads these works will realise what research went into the making of these very popular novels. In these historical volumes, Munshi has opened up a new historical vista by dealing exhaustively with the origin of the Gurjaras, the lineage of the reign of Mihira Bhoj, the great Pratihara emperor of Kanauj, Mularaja, the founder of the Chalukyan kingdom of Anahilavada Pattana; the invasion of Somnatha by Mohammad Ghazni, the reign of Emperor Jaisinha Siddharaj, the vexed problem of whether Devala Devi at all existed, and the social and cultural conditions of Gujarat during the Chalukyan period. Each one is the result of exhaustive study, an effort at investigation and arranging facts and in almost all cases opened up a background for the brilliant romantic adventures embodied in the saga of Chalukyan Gujarat. One of the outstanding characteristics of Munshi's historical writings is that he attempts with commendable means to blow the breath of life into the dry bones of stray historical facts, events and details and unfolds a living picture portraying the spirit of the times described.

Side by side Munshi has carried on research in Gujarat's literary history. Far back in 1923, he planned a history of Gujarati literature in ten volumes. Unfortunately only one could be produced in which he contributed an article on the history of Bhakti literature in Gujarat. In 1924-25, he collected and published from his notes under the title 'Narsi Yagna' (poets of the age of Narsi) excerpts from pre-Narasinha poets thus establishing that Gujarati literature did not begin with the saint-poet Narasinh Meheta as it was then generally believed. In 1932-33, he carried on exhaustive research on the age of Narasinh Meheta after a critical examination of the unpublished manuscripts of *Hara mata*, a work attributed to the saint-poet but found by Munshi really to be the work of a later poet. Its result was published as an introduction to his biography of the poet, *Narsaiyo Bhakti Harino*.

Ultimately, all these resulted in the first connected history of Gujarati literature till *Gujarat and its Literature* which traces the literary history of Gujarat from the 3rd century upto 1933. It throws considerable light on the people of early Gujarat and early literature in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhramsa, besides containing striking pen pictures and perceptive assessment of leading poets. Even to date it remains the only history of Gujarati literature that correlates literary trends and developments with contemporary movements in thought and the mode of life.

From 1922 began Munshi's studies of Vedic and Puranic literature which, in the form of novels and dramas appeared in *Purandar Parajaya* (1922), *Avibhakt Atma* (Puranic Play, 1923), *Tarpan* (1924), *Putra-samovadi* (Puranic Play, 1929), *Lopamudra* (Part I to IV, 1933-34), *Bhagvan Parsuram* (1946), and *Krishnavatara*, the life and achievements of *Sri Krishna*, the third volume of which is running as a serial in the *Bhavan's Journal* for the last three years. This has been a study of ancient India, covering the period from pre-Vedic Cyavana-Sukanya right to the epic episode of Draupadi's Svayamvara in the *Mahabharata* in which figures of classical mythology appear in flesh and blood.

Behind this stupendous work consisting of thirteen volumes of novels and dramas, there is almost a life-time of research.

In 1922-23, when he began the study of the epics and the puranas, he published a research article in Gujarati on the date of the *Bharata*

War. His early Puranic plays, as shown by Shri Durgashankar Shastri, a great scholar, are based on the Vedic and Epic references. In the Lopamudra and the Parsuram series he tries to capture the atmosphere of the free and heroic Vedic times.

In 1939, he delivered the *Thakkar Vasanji Madhavji* Lectures in the University of Bombay, which were published under the title 'Early Aryans on the East Coast', describing the immigration of the early Aryans to the West Coast, the Parsuram myth, the detailed history of the Vedic Battle of Ten Kings and the location of the ancient Mahishmati, and the dating of the reign of Janmaejaya, the Parikshita.

In *Glory that was Gurjaradesa* Vol. I. earlier edition, he tried to investigate the contests between the Vedic Aryans and the Sumerians and the Assyrians. The view taken by him that the Aryans were autochthonous in India was later revised by him in his Presidential Address at the Vidyapith where he tried to establish the age of Aryan immigation and the *Bharata War* in the light of Vedic and Epic literature in the background of recent archaeological discovery at the sites which have thrown up painted grayware pottery. He also delivered an address at the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute on the 'Authenticity of the Parsuram tradition'. In his *Krishnavatara,* for the first time, stray Vedic and Epic references are pieced together by creative imagination, and woven into a striking romance of Sri Krishna's life in the *Magic Flute, Wrath of an Emperor* and the third one, *The Five Brothers,* now running serially in the *Bhavan's Journal.*

Some of his Kulapati's Letters like the one on the Dashnam Sampradaya and the Begum Samru, written in a lively style, bear evidence of a deep study of the subjects. His *Fundamentals of Indian Culture* presents the social and moral ideals behind the Indian culture, against the background of the sociological survey of the conditions as disclosed in Manu and other texts.

Munshi has sought to divest Sri Krishna's personality of its traditional mythological and religious garb and to present him as a man who was superhuman, developing divine qualities.

Even a survey of his research activities would fill a volume.

Munshi's interests in research have resulted in the development of several research organizations. He readily accepted the offer of the Vice-Presidentship of Gujarat Research Society which was being constituted in 1936 under Justice H. V. Divatia, and has been its constant supporter ever since. The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan was established in 1937 and, under his dynamic energy, it was not only expanded as a worldwide organization devoted to research but also grown into a powerful institution for the propagation of culture. *Bharatiya Vidya* is a quarterly research organ of the Bhavan connected with all cultural subjects. With the donation of Mungalal Goenka, Munshi wisely founded the Institute of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry at Anand with research as its main purpose.

Further, in Saraswati Mandir (Institute of Culture) there is a post-graduate research institute named after Seth Mungalal Goenka, carrying on valuable research work in the subjects of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Gujarati literatures and languages. The K. M. Institute of Hindi studies and Linguistics at Agra, and the Land School at Sarojininagar near Lucknow are results of his initiative when he was Governor of Uttar Pradesh. His book *Gospel of the Dirty Hand* is an expression of his faith in the art and philosophy of land-transformation. His Printing Press and Academy, his Book University and his fortnightly and monthly journals are but a witness to his sense of the practical. His *Saga of Indian Sculpture in Rajasthan, Somnath—The Shrine Eternal, The Glory that was Gurjaradesa,* and the *Imperial Gurjaras* prove his keen sense of art and beauty and how he was anxious to illustrate the discoveries of his researches with interesting pictures.

A long-thought-out scheme of History and Culture of the Indian People in ten volumes has resulted in an encyclopædic work of remarkable co-operative scholarship. To each of these volumes is given a brilliant Foreword by Munshi who, after omplete mastery of research material, has prepared highly valuable monographs on the social, economic and cultural aspects of the over-all life of the people concerned in the volume. It was in the true spirit of research that on 19th October 1962, he addressed the Fourth Conference of Research Workers of Gujarat and exhorted them for greater efficiency and preparation for the post-graduate degress in research. Research has no geographical, linguistic or regional boundaries and he advocated an in-

tegrated outlook. Munshi is convinced that Gujarat is an inseparable part and parcel of India, the foundation of Gujarat-consciousness is Indian nationalism and Gujarat can have no meaning and no future except as an expression of Indian culture.

I have every hope that his research will soon extend to fields spiritual. A constant student of Yoga Sutras that he is, and a firm believer in God, it is to be hoped that a Department of Spiritual Research combining Hindu, Buddhistic and Jaina traditions with modern methods may soon come to be established in the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan under Munshi's auspices.

A PERSONAL IMPRESSION

H. M. PATEL

"What is it that makes one so fond of Munshi? It is not as if he is always talking sense."

"But even when he is wrong, and persistent in his wrong-headedness, you like him. How do you explain that?"

This is a more or less verbatim record of what I overheard of a conversation between two officers at a garden party in New Delhi many years ago when Munshi was Union Minister for Food and Agriculture. The officers were discussing a proposal which Munshi had been pressing for acceptance by the Government, and which was meeting with considerable opposition. Surprisingly, however, even those who had serious misgivings about his proposal found it difficult to dissociate it from Munshi's personality. Apart from the fact that he has undoubtedly a way with him, the answer to the question that baffled these officers is not easy but it may perhaps be found in the way in which the question itself was posed. They were talking about a man whom they found bubbling over with ideas, who is in love with humanity, with human beings, and who, therefore, sees all problems in terms of human beings. It is this deep sympathy, together with a lively imagination which alone can surely be responsible for the personal popularity he enjoys amongst a vast variety of people including a great many who find it difficult to agree with him in one or the other aspects of life.

Until 1947, when I first came in personal contact with Munshi, I had known him essentially as the writer of some of the finest novels in Gujarati, and as the founder of Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. Inevitably, I had tended to build up an image of him which I found later when I came to know him more closely to be surprisingly accurate in a great many respects. I had imagined him to be a person with a great sense of humour, of a highly romantic disposition, full of love of adventure, of vivid imagination, and sensitive to the workings of the human mind. I had imagined him to have a kindly disposition towards human failings and weaknesses and, above all, as one who did not believe in moralising, or if he indulged in it, it would be with a view to exhorting

to better behaviour and to adopting a sense of values. It would not be to ask 'why did you do this' so much as to say I can guess why you acted in this way, but would it not be better to try and act differently?'

I was confirmed in my image of him as one prepared to accept human failings, and weaknesses without excessive condemnation. It seemed to me that it was precisely this readiness to accept human failings and weaknesses as nothing extraordinary that makes him give freely of himself to so many, and to receive so much genuine affection as a result from so many of such widely varying nature and character and at such widely differing levels. He has, to my mind, enriched himself. He may at times be vain enough publicly to show off by pointing to the world's and the country's great men, whom he can count among his friends. In his heart of hearts, however, he knows and appreciates that only friendship which is genuine and sincere matters. Nothing else can explain the great lengths to which he has been found ready to go to show his friendliness to the smallest of his friends whom he likes and who are genuinely fond of him. I am quite confident that nothing makes him more happy to-day than this knowledge that there is carved out for him a place in the hearts of so many friends and co-workers.

Even after 1947, my contact with Munshi remained for quite some time of a somewhat distant character. Then, on a tragic occasion on the 30th of January 1948, we met when he and I were set a joint task to select the site for Gandhiji's cremation. Those few hours on the afternoon of that day, the greater part of the night, and the following day, will have left an indelible picture in many hearts. News of Gandhiji's death spread like wild fire. Before, however, the knowledge became general, some of us who realised that they would be called upon to assist in whatever needs to be done on such occasions, were able to get into the Birla House. The Prime Minister and Sardar Patel had already arrived there and were standing in a room in a daze, and looking utterly lost. A great many other people followed soon after, the Mountbattens among them. For a time no one seemed to be capable of anything more than slowly accepting the fact of Gandhiji's passing away. Certain steps of a purely precautionary and preventive character, were, nevertheless, immediately taken by the Home and De-

fence Ministries while the Radio saw to it that no misleading or mischievous stories got ahead of the true version of what had occurred. These steps were taken by the officers concerned on their own initiative. No one dared to approach Panditji and Sardar to enquire about the other matters that would soon have to be attended to. Characteristically, however, it was Lord Mountbatten, who took it upon himself to get them to attend to these important, though, in any other context, trivial affairs. A proposal to keep Gandhiji's body on view for a few days was firmly vetoed, I think, by Pyarelal, on the ground that Gandhiji had himself expressly forbidden it. Lord Mountbatten soon managed to get decisions taken on almost all the essential things that had to be done, leading upto Gandhiji's cremation. With the approval of Panditji and Sardar, he assigned to Munshi and myself the task of selecting the site where the cremation was to take place. I was also asked to see that the Armed Forces made the necessary arrangements for the funeral procession. This latter task was relatively simple; the Army knew its business and worked through the night to see that everything was correctly and properly organised, including the provision of a gun carriage.

The selection of the site, however, proved a somewhat more difficult proposition than I had imagined. Munshi, a couple of local leaders and I spent several hours in semi-darkness travelling by car and on foot, along the Jamuna river. The local leaders were keen that the cremation should take place at the usual cremation ghat on the banks of the Jamuna. I explained why for practical reasons alone we would have to exclude it. There would be enormous crowds for one thing, which it would be impossible to provide in the small and congested cremation ground. Apart from this, it was clearly desirable that the ceremony should take place in an area which would be capable of being set aside and developed later as a park; for people from all over the country would want to visit the place and pay their homage to the Father of the Nation. Munshi seized the point immediately and with his lively and vivid imagination painted a verbal picture of what the place would grow into in the years to come, and how it was our duty to see that we looked sufficiently further forward. It was largely due to this picture drawn visibly with all his persuasive eloquence, that the local leaders acquiesced in the site where the cremation eventually took place. With an almost feminine sense of intui-

tion and sympathy, Munshi was able to judge accurately how the mind of his immediate audience were likely to work and he had adapted his approach accordingly.

What happened later is not strictly relevant, but may be mentioned as a matter of interest. The pressure of local opinion on the local leaders must have continued against the selected site and so very late that night, the Prime Minister and Sardar Patel were approached to reconsider the matter! They agreed to visit the site early in the morning and I was asked to be present. Munshi was not able, for some reason which I do not now recollect, to come and it was left to me to explain to Panditji and Sardar the reasons which had led us to select the site we did in preference to any other. They did not require any elaborate argument or explanation and within a matter of minutes the decision was confirmed.

A similar imaginative approach in regard to a totally different problem led Munshi to institute the festival of tree plantation, which has come to be known as Vana Mahotsav. The fact that the idea has been bowdlerised and that it has unfortunately failed to achieve all that it was intended to achieve and should have been capable of achieving is not relevant. What is relevant is the brilliance of the idea, simple in itself yet so profoundly rooted in the tradition of the country that it immediately struck a responsive chord in the minds of the people throughout the country and was received by everyone with the utmost warmth. Had a sufficiently vigorous and determined policy of after-care been persisted in, the country today would have been infinitely the richer. Many of our problems of flood control, soil erosion and soil conservation would have have been solved without any special effort! It is significant that despite its failure to achieve what it was capable of achieving, Vana Mahotsav has continued to be celebrated year after year and has been responsible for the planting and growth of a very large number of trees which might otherwise have remained unplanted. The fact that the achievement ought to have been very much greater is not Munshi's fault and does not take away from the basic grandeur of the idea itself. And if one were to probe further, it would be found that at the root of the idea is undoubtedly Munshi's love of beauty and humanity.

As a Minister for Food and Agriculture, on superficial view, it is sometimes said that he did not succeed. The fact, however, remains

that it is very largely the policies that he had evolved and advocated, and which did not at that time find acceptance, have been the policies that were substantially adopted by his successors later. How did he set about his task? He made a thorough study of the entire problem with the help of his officers, and then, approaching the issues involved with his characteristic vision, he acted with great vigour and purposiveness. Rarely has that Ministry functioned as a team as it did in Munshi's time, for, as a born administrator, he knew how to delegate authority and how to get the best out of those working under him. It was essentially his human, friendly approach that won him the loyal support of his staff.

Munshi will go down in history as the renovator of Somnath and as the builder of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. The Shrine of Somnath had been desecrated, despoiled and destroyed many times by the Muslim invaders. Nothing could be done to restore it during the days of British paramountcy over a composite population of Muslims and Hindus. The dawn of Independence and the debacle of Junagadh provided the opportunity to raise this ancient shrine from its ruins. To Munshi Somnath is the 'Shrine Eternal', the symbol of Sacred India. He mobilised manpower and monetary resources from the public to rebuild the temple of Mahadev. In this holy purpose, he had the approval and support of Sardar who stood by him and ironed out many difficulties which the project had to face. The more conservative in the land would not have the temple constructed in a different style and consecrated by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, then President of India on the ground of his being a non-Brahmin and Munshi had a hard time to get over this opposition. But more distressing to him than this was the opposition from the high-ups in the country's administration who, long after the project was launched and was well under way, suddenly projected their own definition of a 'secular state' and sensed danger in Munshi, then a Minister of the Indian Union getting involved in the renovation of a Hindu temple. Munshi quickly reacted to this opposition and a portion of the letter that he wrote is worth quoting:

> "I have helped in building up several institutions, for instance, the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, the Public School at Andheri, the Chembur Home for destitute children and the Institute of Agriculture at Anand. If similarly, I am now helping to build up Somnath as a centre of religion and culture, a University and a farm,

it is only as a humble task to which I have been called. The fact that when so helping, I have been a lawyer or a publicman or a Minister is only an accident. You know well that my historical novels have brought the ancient history of Gujarat vividly before modern India, and my novel 'Jaya Somnath' has had a great appeal in the country. I can assure you that the 'Collective Sub-conscious' of India today is happier with the scheme of reconstruction of Somnath sponsored by Government of India than with many other things that we have done and are doing."

"One word more. It is my faith in our past which has given me the strength to work in the present and to look forward to our future. I cannot value freedom if it deprives us of the *Bhagavad Gita* or uproots our millions from the faith with which they look upon our temples and thereby destroys the texture of our lives. I have been given the privilege of seeing my incessant dream of Somnath reconstruction come true. That makes me feel—makes me almost sure—that this shrine once restored to a place of importance in our life will give to our people purer conception of religion and a more vivid consciousness of our strength, so vital in these days of freedom and its trial."

And thus, by Munshi's historical sense, his instinct for the sacred, and his national fervour, Somnath rose again, from its ruins and the shame of centuries was wiped out. It is no exaggeration to say that this great achievement would not have been possible but for Munshi's initiative, energy and crusading zeal.

In the creation of the various institutions under the umbrella of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, one sees again the mind and the hand of a man of imagination and action, a rare combination anywhere of an idealist and a practical man of the world. In the *Kulapati's Letters* which he writes in every issue of *Bhavan's Journal*, one sees the impress of a highly sensitive yet realistic mind. With a surprisingly sure touch he picks upon the topic which at any given moment agitates people's minds and on which people would wish to be enlightened. How does he do it? There is no mystery. He is able to do it because he is essentially human in his approach, so that what interests him is almost certain to interest the average person in this country.

Everything Munshi does, whether as a writer, or as a speaker, whe-

ther as an active administrator or as a Chairman of a Committee, is always relieved by a sense of humour. It is an almost puckish humour, a kindly humour, free from malice, even though at times a truly boisterous humour. Munshi is remarkably gentle and kindly inspite of the ruthlessness he is capable of displaying without hesitation when it is necessary. Even at this age, he loves a sly dig at his friends and his foes alike, but there is rarely malice in it. Equally he enjoys a joke at his own expense with readiness. He loves life and loves human beings just because of their frailties and his awareness of his own weaknesses. He is tolerant in a very real sense of the word and does not postulate perfection in anybody. For Munshi, it is enough that a man should want to try to be better for him to accept such a person as worthy of acceptance, in his circle of friends. Not for Munshi to be pessimistic. He would far rather take an optimistic view, for, in his heart, hope springs eternal. With all this and, despite his readiness to overlook others' weaknesses, he himself refuses to compromise his intellectual integrity. While he is prepared to explain other's behaviour psychologically and condone it, he judges his own conduct only by absolute standards. So far as he himself is concerned, explanation is not justification.

He has already achieved so much and yet at this great age, he works as if he has yet to establish himself. Even now, at the summit of his achievements, the starting of another Public School, with emphasis on the teaching of English, he considers worthy of his attention. He still continues his political, legal and literary activities. But possibly it is still to the educational institutions at all levels that he attaches the greatest importance and I feel certain his preference is due entirely to his instinctive realisation that he should keep in close touch with the young and their problems.

Munshi will never grow old, nor, despite his apparent physical frailty, ever grow less active and creative, for his heart continues to receive "messages of beauty, cheer, courage, grandeur and power from the earth, from man and from the Infinite". In his case, it is true to say that "you are as young as your faith"; "as young as your self-confidence"; "as young as your hope". May he continue as young as he now is, as active and creative, and may the world continue to derive from him the good things of life that he has been so abundantly conferring on it.

UNIQUE PARTNERSHIP

PRAVINCHANDRA V. GANDHI

During the summer of 1922, Munshi was spending his vacation at Mahableshwar, busy writing his historical novel *Rajadhiraj*. He received from Lilavati some pen-pictures including one of himself meant to be published in *Gujarat*. She revealed a remarkable insight into the personality of Munshi, whose 'sparkling intellect', according to her, was associated with 'an unconcealed egotism'. She made a very significant observation in the pen-picture,—"but deep underneath this hard crust of intellect is concealed an under-current of love flowing from a heart. Some one may have tasted it; but the waters of the spring are not accessible to all." On reading this pen-picture of himself, Munshi felt that at last his dream-girl had come to life. In a frenzy characteristic of the ideal renaissance man that he was, he has recalled this mood in his *Shishu ane Sakhi*. A new hope had entered his life like the first dawn, which, with her golden rays, dispels the darkness enveloping the world. "He felt as if he were in a dream, floating in the air, and the stars were dancing to the rhythm of celestial music." He was yet a stranger to this remarkable lady, who was fascinated by Tanman, the heroine of his first novel *Verni Vasulat*, and who was yearning to become acquainted with him. Munshi's heart danced with joy and he felt that at last he had met the girl for whom he had been waiting for ages!

This is how a great literary camaraderie was formed. During this time both were passing through a sort of agonising heart-searching. Both could not resist each other, and a decision had to be taken. This chapter in the life of Munshi and Lilavati is one of the most fascinating inasmuch as it reveals the storm and stress through which both of them passed before realising their dream. Munshi records in one of his conversations as follows:—

> "I have had a vision of our undivided soul. My life can find fulfilment only on its being realised and I am resolved to realise it even if I were to die in the effort.... But have you faith in our undivided soul? Will you be able to bear its burden?"

The dream became a reality, and a unique partnership in the world of literature, social and political spheres, and cultural and educational fields started, perhaps unparalleled, having regard to their many-sided contribution.

Lilavati herself had already earned a reputation as a distinguished stylist and a writer of powerful prose, as exemplified in her *Rekha-Chitro, Jivanmanthi Jadeli* and the play *Kumaradevi.* However, after her marriage, Lilavati's literary work suffered a sort of an eclipse, as she became the presiding deity of the Munshi household and an inspiring angel to Munshi himself. As is observed by Sri N. C. Mehta, "two streams of literary activity, which had been significant and separate, became merged together and the only entity left in matters literary was Munshi himself." Lilavati, henceforward, became the moving spirit behind the *Sahitya Sansad.*

Lilavati's irrepressible energy found another outlet and she turned to political and social spheres, where she displayed remarkable tact, commonsense and organisational skill. She had now chosen a wider gamut of life alongside her husband with whom she was to be a comrade-in-arms in every sphere of activity.

On the political horizon, Gandhiji had already cast a spell over the Indian people and Lilavati too did not escape the spell of Gandhiji. She was keenly interested in Gandhiji's political philosophy and there is no doubt that she influenced Munshi, the Constitutionalist, in plunging into the wider arena of political life. The Bardoli Satyagraha drew Munshi into the struggle. Lilavati had already made up her mind and she had decided to join the freedom struggle. Then came the famous Dandi March to break the salt law and Munshi was persuaded to join the Salt Satyagraha. The constitutional lawyer had become a law-breaker and a great political leader. Both Munshi and Lilavati courted arrest and were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment.

On release from the jail, Lilavati's organisational ability manifested itself in the Swadeshi Bazar, which she planned and built up. Gandhiji complimented her on the excellent work she was doing in promoting the cause of *Swadeshi.* Both Munshi and Lilavati were members of the A.I.C.C., and were fully drawn into the vortex of political struggle which was then rocking the country. Both of them went through the

trials and tribulations of jail life every time a Civil Disobedience Movement was launched.

During the phase the Congress was debating the Parliamentary programme, both plunged into the election campaigns. Lilavati got elected to the Bombay Municipal Corporation, where she made a mark and was elected to various civic sub-committees. She took the civic work seriously and continued as a Member of the Municipal Corporation for over 11 years from 1935 to 1946. She was the Chief Whip of the Congress Municipal Party and later its Deputy Leader and Chairman of the Standing Committee. Equally interested in educational and cultural activities alongside with Munshi, she was a Member of the Senate of the Bombay University from 1937 to 1946 and she worked on the Board of Studies in Gujarati.

Again in 1937, both Munshi and Lilavati won the election and were Members of the Bombay Legislative Assembly. Munshi became the Home Minister and during this period Lilavati lent him powerful support in every respect and made his task easier. In her own right, Lilavati can claim a proud record of legislative activity. She moved a number of Bills and Resolutions and fought for the introduction of Adult Franchise for the Bombay Municipal Corporation. She was a keen debater and a forceful speaker.

With the outbreak of the Second World War, the Congress again went into the wilderness, and Lilavati continued to serve in civic and cultural spheres.

With the advent of freedom, both Munshi and Lilavati were engaged in the rehabilitation work for the large masses of people uprooted consequent upon the partition of the country. Munshi was, at the same time, engrossed in the great task of Constitution-making, as a Member of the Constituent Asssembly. Those were stirring and exciting days. Sardar Patel, who had undertaken the great task of building an integrated India by bringing about the merger of 600 princely States, chose Munshi for solving the Hyderabad tangle. It is hardly necessary to recount here the epic drama of Hyderabad integration. During those anxious days, Lilavati was a constant source of support and encouragement to Munshi.

Munshi was later offered ministership in the first Union Cabinet and he was assigned the most difficult portfolio of Food and Agri-

culture. Munshi, with his characteristic energy and realism, tried to tackle the problem in the most efficient manner. Lilavati was busy organising Subsidiary Food Exhibitions in Bombay and Delhi and established a chain of Annapoorna Cafeterias all over the country. She also set up the College of Catering and Institutional Management in Bombay, which is now a full-fledged Institution. She was a Member of the Rajya Sabha from 1952 to 1958, where she established a distinguished record as a Parliamentarian.

Munshi, meanwhile, was elevated to the gubernatorial position of the Governorship of Uttar Pradesh, the largest State in the Indian Union. In the varied activities which he had to undertake as the Governor, Lilavati was a veritable tower of strength and as has been said, the complexion of Raj Bhavan at Lucknow was completely transformed, pulsating with the new urges and aspirations of the people of Uttar Pradesh. The Government House became a real centre of cultural and educational activities.

Here is the record of a unique partnership in life and literature. Whether it was the sphere of literary activities, participation in politics, educational activities, or organising of art forms, dance and dramas, both contributed in an abundant measure to bringing about a new renaissance in the life of the country.

The most outstanding monument to their achievements has been the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, which has been built up step by step, as a living embodiment of their mission. "It is something more than a mere educational and cultural institution, with an international reputation. It is a Movement embodying the mission and the message of Indian culture and Bharatiya Shiksha. Verily can Munshiji as the Kulapati of the Bhavan lay the flattering unction to his soul that his dreams of Indian culture have taken some concrete shape through the activities of this institution."

Associated with Lilavati, the Kala Kendra of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan has blossomed forth into a great institution, catering to music, dance and drama.

Lilavati as an ennobling and inspiring spirit has played a great role in the life of Munshi, a life glorious and purposeful, and known for its richness and versatality.

On the unique occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan and the completion of 75 years of Munshi's fruitful and creative life, we pray to the Almighty to vouchsafe to this unique partnership may more years of health and strength to serve the cause of *Bharatiya Vidya* with vision and energy, as they have done for all these years.

APPENDIX I

A TYPICAL RENAISSANCE MAN *

D. P. MUKERJI

Munshiji in his personality and achievements is a typical Renaissance man.

Every renaissance throws up an ideal type of man whose virtues and defects render him distinct equally from the average man and the type that is matured in decadence. Beyond a vague sense of exhilaration, the average man betrays no symptom of being affected by the fuller life around him. But the ideal type partakes intensely of it. He will not deprive himself of any aspect of it. The whole or nothing is his motto. All his nerves quiver in achieving. He is seized by the daemon, and his frenzy is non-human because it is so completely vital. On the other hand, he is unequal, inconsistent and partial. His very activity will not allow him the rest in which values are nursed, ideas schematised into a system, and contemplation generates poise of the soul. Being ever on the search, he does not reach. Having perpetually strained, he is not easy. Life has touched him in the raw, and he cannot be mellow. Ripeness is nothing to him because to him living is all, its start, course and the end. He cannot afford to exude flavour all the time as he is busy emitting glow. His arc is never closed.

Thus it is that Abelard will not be content with his learning but shall ever be hungry of love; Leonardo will not be exhausted by the Last Supper but shall be engineer, architect, sculptor, flutist, experimenter and shall still dream of the youth he loved and frame him in the sad prototype of Gioconda; Isabella d'Este, Aretino, Erasmus will take the universe for their own and specialise in omniscience; a Ram Mohan and Ranade will straddle the East and the West like Colossus; Tagore will write novels, stories, dramas, found a University, plunge into politics, comment on the Upanishads, spread co-operative societies, start shipping, jute and insurance concerns with equal casualness.

Munshiji is in that grand tradition of the Renaissance man. His

* Reproduced from "Dr. K. M. Munshi Diamond Jubilee Commemoration Volume" (1946).

literary activities, his participation in politics, his brilliance as administrator, educationalist, journalist and as an organiser of art forms, dance-shows and dramas fail to close the list of his interests. He is all that, and more besides. His energy spills out in abandon. He is in the full stream of India in the making.

In such renaissance many contradictions are easily resolved. Action fuses some, and realism does others. Yet a few remain, and they are those that have their origins in the conflict of the two age-spirits. Plato must be squared with the inductive intellect, or Aristotle with Christian theology; here, the *Upanishads* have to be synthesised with reformist zeal. It is not easy to keep balance on a rocking bridge or on moving planes. Many have been thrown back while others have been pushed out. Those who can still stand, do so, on the strength and vigour of their individuality. In India, the *Bhagavad Gita* is handy. It is the philosophy of the renaissance, and so it has inspired Tilak, Gandhi and Munshi. For those who have no such consolation, it may as well be democratic socialism. Jawaharlal will not read the *Gita,* and yet he shall integrate himself on this level of living. But that residual conflict inherent in the renaissance man seldom appears on the surface. It is usually lost in the flow. Like a particle beneath the skin of the oyster hugging the bottom deep beneath the tide, it makes pearls, and the costliest pearls are never pure. Munshiji has followed the Mahatma, and deviated from him. The Mahatma loved him.

This near-complete synthesis is reflected on the levels of faith and knowledge. When faith is splintered by theology, renaissance-spirit collects it through confidence in man and in his future. If knowledge is fragmented by specialisms, the renaissance man gathers them by the unity of knowledge. Man and knowledge in the context of life make up culture. Munshiji is a man of culture. Is he a great scholar? No. And yet his scholarship is validated by his culture, his sense of values, his feeling for the whole. Is he a perfect man? No. And yet his imperfections receive their sanction from his quest for synthesis. Has he mastered all aspects of culture? No. And he values culture above all. Is he a pure Indian in the sense of leading a purely Brahminical life? No. And yet for him Indian culture is the peak of Indian endeavour. One who has known him will, however, be not surprised. Munshiji lives, thinks and acts like a cultured person, synoptically.

APPENDIX II

A LITTLE DYNAMO *

KRISHNALAL SHRIDHARANI

One evening, recently, during the preliminary session of the Constituent Assembly in New Delhi, I drove up to the Birla House with Munshiji. The idea was to spend a quiet evening of walk and talk together at his temporary residence in the nation's capital. We had so much to talk about since we were meeting after an interval of twelve years.

But before we could begin, a deputation of Sikhs arrived to consult Munshiji as to their probable status in Section B. The stalwart bearded lions of the north had come to the tiny vegetarian Gujarati because they shared with him a common dream—the dream of Akhand Hindustan. The Sikhs saw their communal suicide in Pakistan. The Brahmin saw the dissolution of the Hindu heritage, the oldest continuous civilisation, if Pakistan materialised.

The small group proved that antipathy to Pakistan made the strangest bed-fellows. Here were the Sikhs, be-turbaned and clad in the northern garbs, giving an impression of slow-moving massive physical strength. And here was a little plainsman lawyer behind dark glasses in a Gandhi-cap-Munshi-style. The versatile mind in the volatile body dominated the scene by the mongoose tactics of agility. But before he could settle all the points with the logic of a good lawyer...

....The telephone rang. Sir N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar was on the phone. The little dynamo sprang. The Princes' Negotiating Committee had thrown a new monkey wrench. They kept the wire burning for half an hour. Forgotten was I, forgotten were the Sikhs. It was a new development in an atmosphere surcharged with new developments, and something had to be done about it and quickly. The Sardar had to be contacted...

No sooner had the Sikhs left than did a group arrive to implore Munshiji to take up their litigation. Again I was forgotten, and so

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* Reproduced from "Dr. K. M. Munshi Diamond Jubilee Commemoration Volume" (1946).

were the Sikhs and the Princes' Negotiating Committee and Sir N. Gopalaswami and the Constituent Assembly. Now Munshiji was absorbed in the case at hand. In the meanwhile he had gotten up once more to take the phone to accept a dinner invitation for the next evening from a Maharajah.

Later on Munshiji assured me that he was going to settle down to write a story before going to bed. I was impressed by this drama of American efficiency in a country where people seldom get up once they have settled down to talks unending. I marvelled at his ability to turn on and turn off his concentration at will, like a water-fossette. I thought that if I could open his mind without injuring him permanently, I would find a honeycomb, full of pigeon-holes which harboured his various interests in water-tight compartments.

Munshiji explained to me that the ease with which he could get absorbed in a subject at a moment's notice was acquired with great difficulty. Ever since his adolescence he had striven hard to develop the powers of concentration through the *Yogic* exercise of *Dhyana.* As a boy he was fascinated by the stories about *Rishis* and *Maharshis,* and through subconscious as well as conscious striving he had aspired to be one. But he wanted to streamline the ancient concept of a *Rishi* to suit the needs of the twentieth cenury. He dabbled in spiritism for a while, but gave it up since *Moksha* was not his main concern. He was using *Dhyana* to acquire greater efficiency so that he could achieve ends here and now.

As I look back to the Munshi novels I have read, I realise that this *Rishi* theme runs like a thread through most of them. A man of ambition generally seeks a magic formula of increasing power. But Munshiji's pre-occupation with the *Rishi* formula should be viewed in a social context as well as in the personal context. It is clear that Munshiji's emotional content is provided by the Vedic Aryavarta. He wants to recreate the glory that was 'Ind.

The difference between a proud man and a vain man is this: a proud man is confident of what he is, while the vain man is proud of what he is not. Munshiji is essentially a proud man, proud of what he is. He is a Brahmin and he swears by Aryavarta. He is a Gujarati and he sings the praise of greater Gujarat. His loyalty to Gujarat can

be explained in another way also. Just as a cow needs a tether, so does Munshiji need the centre of Gujarat to encompass the perimeter of Indian Nationalism. His early novels and later historical essays have resurrected a cultural concept of Gujarat which embraces even Rajputana. Mahatma Gandhi made Gujarat proud in its present tense by creating heroes out of dust. Munshiji made Gujarat proud in its past tense by revealing heroes from under archaeological dust.

I recall that during my high school days at Dakshinamurti in Bhavnagar I read Munshiji's novels more avidly and with a greater sense of excitement than those of any other Gujarati novelists. For one thing, he can tell a story well. Secondly, his characters are alive and not wooden or stereotyped. And his heroes and heroines were love-hungry and power-hungry. They were always doing things and going places instead of mooning and crooning like the heroes and heroines in other novels and poems saturated by the spirit of Sufism. Munshiji's men regarded the world as to be stormed and taken, in utter contrast to the general Gujarati spirit of negation and asceticism and renunciation. They were the very things that young breasts aspired to be.

I read Munshiji's novels for all these reasons. But I read them also because the man who wrote them had become a legend in Gujarat and had fascinated me. I read the novels, in other words, as much for their stories as for their story-teller. The way Munshiji became a legend in Gujarat seems a simple device to me now that I have had the experience of exciting educational places in India as well as in the Western world during my twelve years of Vanavasa in *America,* but then it was a big thing. Munshiji lived like a hero of one of his novels, and thus proved the hackneyed aphorism that a novel is nothing but the autobiography of the author.

Let me be precise. Munshiji's characters displayed a marked proclivity towards love and power. I venture to suggest that the love complex and the power complex constitute the major overtones of Munshiji's personality. The results of the power complex are evident. The once obscure and impecunious Gujarati lawyer is well on his way to be an all-India figure, and this is by no means the journey's end. The love complex led him to be not only the *enfant terrible* of the Gujarati letters; it led him to love-marriage.

By this single stroke Munshiji became the talking point of Gujarat. He symbolised the secret yearning of the youth in Gujarat which was then pre-occupied (and which, perhaps, is still occupied) with the problem of the incompatible marriage between an educated boy and the uneducated girl selected by his parents. One has only to look into the novels and short stories and poems of that time to convince oneself that that was the central social problem in Gujarat when Munshiji boldly solved it in his own life. Indeed the prudes were shocked, but that did not prevent them from reading Munshiji's books and talking about him. Instead it whetted their appetite. For we secretly admire a man who dares do things that we dare not do.

Munshiji, the man, is a curious blend of the old and the new, the provincial and the universal. The glory of Gujarat and of the ancient Aryavarta constitute his frame of reference, but, at the same time, Western and most modern modes of social relations constitute the code of his conduct. That is why tradition-bound Maharajahs and magnates find a sense of security even in Munshiji's reform movement. That is why the radical youth of Gujarat has the feeling that he is with them also.

An engaging talker, Munshiji holds his own in any group and relishes the company of those who are good conversationalists themselves. Many times he dominates the scene, and thus creates the impression of constant self-possession and aggressiveness. But I have a sneaking suspicion that this technique of his can be a shell for his innate shyness. He is awestruck for the first few minutes whenever he meets a new person of note. But give him those first few minutes, let him overcome the shock... then Munshi is Munshi.

As is a tale, so is life;
not how long it is,
but how good it is.

—SENECA

Dr. K. M. Munshi's Reply to the Felicitations at the Reception organised by Dr. K. M. Munshi's 76th Birthday Celebrations Committee, at 6.00 P.M. on December 30, 1962, at the National Sports Club of India, Hornby Vellard, Worli, Bombay 18.

I am overwhelmed by the kindness of friends who have spoken on the occasion, as also by the generous appreciations of distinguished contemporaries who have written about me in the volume just released. With my heart so full, I do not know what to say in reply.

However, we cannot escape certain forms. One of them dictates that I should say something on this occasion. But what can I say? Platitudes would look graceless. To say "Thank you" would appear trite. If I had my way, I would only rest content by saying: "I thank God that I have been given kind friends."

If I am to speak at all, you must permit me to speak what I feel on this occasion, though it would be rather unconventional.

This I feel: Whatever I have spoken, written and accomplished, whichever the way in which I have lived, I owe it not to myself, but to the forces which moulded and inspired me throughout life.

On an occasion like this, thoughts, reminiscences and memories rise in my mind. Many and varied are the personalities and forces which have tossed me about on the ocean of life. Each had its influence on me in its kaleidoscopic context. All have left an imprint on me, more or less permanent, but some are indelible.

I owe a debt of gratitude, first, to this great city of ours—the city of slums, palaces and shrines—to which I came in June 1907 seeking a career. Its bubbling life was a challenge to the puny, penniless, friendless new-comer. Walking in its streets, reading in its free libraries, satisfying a thirst for glamour in the foul-smelling pits of its various theatres, receiving friendly and unfriendly impacts, I developed a zest to work unremittingly.

The Bombay Bar, that great institution with its high standards and eminent leaders, opened its arms to me. Though proverbially inhospitable, it sheltered me and gave me scope for intensive hard work, and introduced me to the hates and passions, to the greed and crime, to the lures and hopes of its vast and varied life.

I became familiar with wealth transferred from one man to another through the judicial process; to malice which preferred mutual ruin by spiteful litigation; to justice vindicated or, not unoften, denied.

The Bar brought me in living contact with the city's business world, where often men lost money for no fault of theirs or acquired it for no merit of theirs. There was scarcely a trading transaction in

which wealth was acquired by uncanny shrewdness or by instinctive appreciation of the laws of the market, into which, as a lawyer, I was not initiated. This world gave me friends, astute, competent and generous; some of them often accepted my demands on them with the same alacrity with which Sri Krishna, as Shamalsha, accepted the *hundis* of Narsi Mehta.

The libraries of the City gave me a glimpse of the literary and academic world. Several rising literary men encouraged me to write in Gujarati. Its press and journals gave me the much-needed monetary relief, and incidentally provided the facility to read proofs, write leaders and articles, and to attempt novels. When the time came, many were the friends whose admiration gave me the urge to excel myself in pouring out my soul through literature.

Bombay's political life attracted me to public service. Some of its political leaders led me into the battle of freedom. Sometimes the people of Bombay, by their very confidence, attracted me to the thorny path of sacrifice.

In the thirties, the Bombay University, my *alma mater*, gave me an insight into the role and technique of higher education, opened for me the mysteries of how the mind and character of the young were formed and created an urge in me to make experiments on the ways to impart knowledge, of which nobility and character are the fruits—*sheela vritta phalam srutam.*

Bombay, therefore, was my school of life. It showed me the way and gave me scope. It was the springboard from which I plunged into life's endeavours.

Whatever achievements you have credited me with, I repeat, are not mine; I was but a sea-shell thrown up by the mighty flood of Indian Renaissance. Those who gave me momentum and direction were some of its great architects: Dayanand Saraswati, who restored in me the pride of ancient race and undying culture; Bankimchandra, who fired my romantic imagination to go in search of new worlds; Sri Aurobindo, who taught me the love of Bharat Mata, the Eternal Mother, and aroused aspirations for spiritual self-fulfilment. Then came Gandhiji, he opened for me vistas of national greatness, which can only be acquired through a dedicated life.

Indian Renaissance, as you know, has many facets—political, cultural, religious and spiritual. I was hypnotised by all of them into becoming the vehicle of its expression—feeble and imperfect though it was.

Without my knowing it, I was landed into the arena of political strife, into gaol, into the legislature, into the Constituent Assembly, into Parliament, into offices of some importance.

Similarly, I strayed into the field of romance and into trying to fathom the mysteries which gave Indian culture its strength and tenacity.

Looking back at my life, I see it as an adventure—by no means meteoric, but certainly colourful. Now that it is nearing its end, I can view it standing as it were on the bank of a flowing stream.

To say that it was *my* adventure would be arrogant. Hopes and disappointments, achievements and frustrations, which came my way, were not of my making; they only expressed the will of a Higher Power.

The adventure, however, was very interesting. Spread over seventy-five years, it had its thrills—thrills experienced at the partition of Bengal and the rise of militant nationalism; at the rise of the Home Rule movement and of popular consciousness; at the Bardoli satyagraha and the birth of non-violent resistance; at thousands courting gaols to vindicate their right to freedom; at hundreds of thousands being swayed by patriotic impulses in mammoth meetings; at wielding power and maintaining order; at the trials and tortures which accompanied the transfer of power by the British; at the glorious work of the Constituent Assembly; at the Hyderabad episode with its intrigues and dangers.

Such a thrill I felt recently when, at the challenge of the Chinese aggression, a giant wave of resisting will swept over the country as never before in history. I have no doubt that the Will to Resist, which has developed in the country, will make the Motherland stronger and greater than she ever was.

I am happy that I have found a sense of fulfilment in having been actively associated with the wonderful revolution in our social life which brought about the emancipation of our women and the removal of untouchability; also in the creative and co-operative effort to help build shrines of learning and culture, of which the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan is one.

At the same time, I am filled with a sense of mystery on account of things which I planned going wrong and things unplanned being accomplished. But the hand of God is always there.

The adventure again was not only interesting, but filled with human warmth. Throughout life, God has been pleased to give me friends whose unfailing confidence and support have made my task easy; young men and women who have enriched our life by giving us the affection due to parents; also a family which uniformly surrounds us with care

and respect: for all of which we are humbly beholden.

My life would not have been what it was and is without the three women who have given me love and devotion in unbounded measure.

The first gave me birth and presided over my life during its first forty-nine years with a rare wisdom.

The second shared my early years of struggle and success with a unique self-surrender.

And the last has partnered my struggles and achievements with a spirit of unity which I dreamt of in fiction, but little hoped to realise in life. In giving her to me, God fed my hungry soul and made the course of years a pilgrimage of joy.

They have, each in her own way, surrounded me with understanding and encouragement; to them must mainly go the credit for whatever I have been or done.

The adventure has also its wonderful aspect—beautiful, I may say. Side by side with the real world, from 1910 up to now, I have lived in a world of my own—unshared by anyone else—inhabited by mighty men and women of the Vedic and Epic ages—

Vasishtha, Viswamitra, Parashurama, Agastya and Lopamudra, Krishna and Rukmini, Balarama and Uddhava.

As also men and women of the golden prime of the Chalukyan era of Gujarat—Munjal, Kak, Khengar, Ranak, Manjari, Chaula, Bada Maharaj.

Trying to capture their lives, habits and adventures in words all too feeble, I have found fulfilment. Whether they will remain in the memory of men or not, is no concern of mine, but as I shared their joys and sorrows, my life acquired the rainbow hue of beauty. By and large, the dreams and ideals which have inspired my life, I believe, are vital for maintaining India's ageless culture. And I may be permitted to hope that the inspiration behind what I have thought and worked for, would ever continue to activate not only those who have been in contact with me, but others who may in future come into contact with them.

I have also had moments of inspiration, as when the heart of our Culture stood revealed to me in *tapas*, the constant endeavour to keep the mind and body pure, and in *Ishvara Pranidhan*, learning to live in His presence, by a total surrender to His will. And in those moments, I have learnt with humility that His will alone determines both the adventure and outcome; we are but instruments.

In that faith I have lived and hope to live hereafter. And whenever His mandate comes, I am ready to depart and leave the task to be carried forward by kindred spirits.

Once again I thank the Lord, and you all.

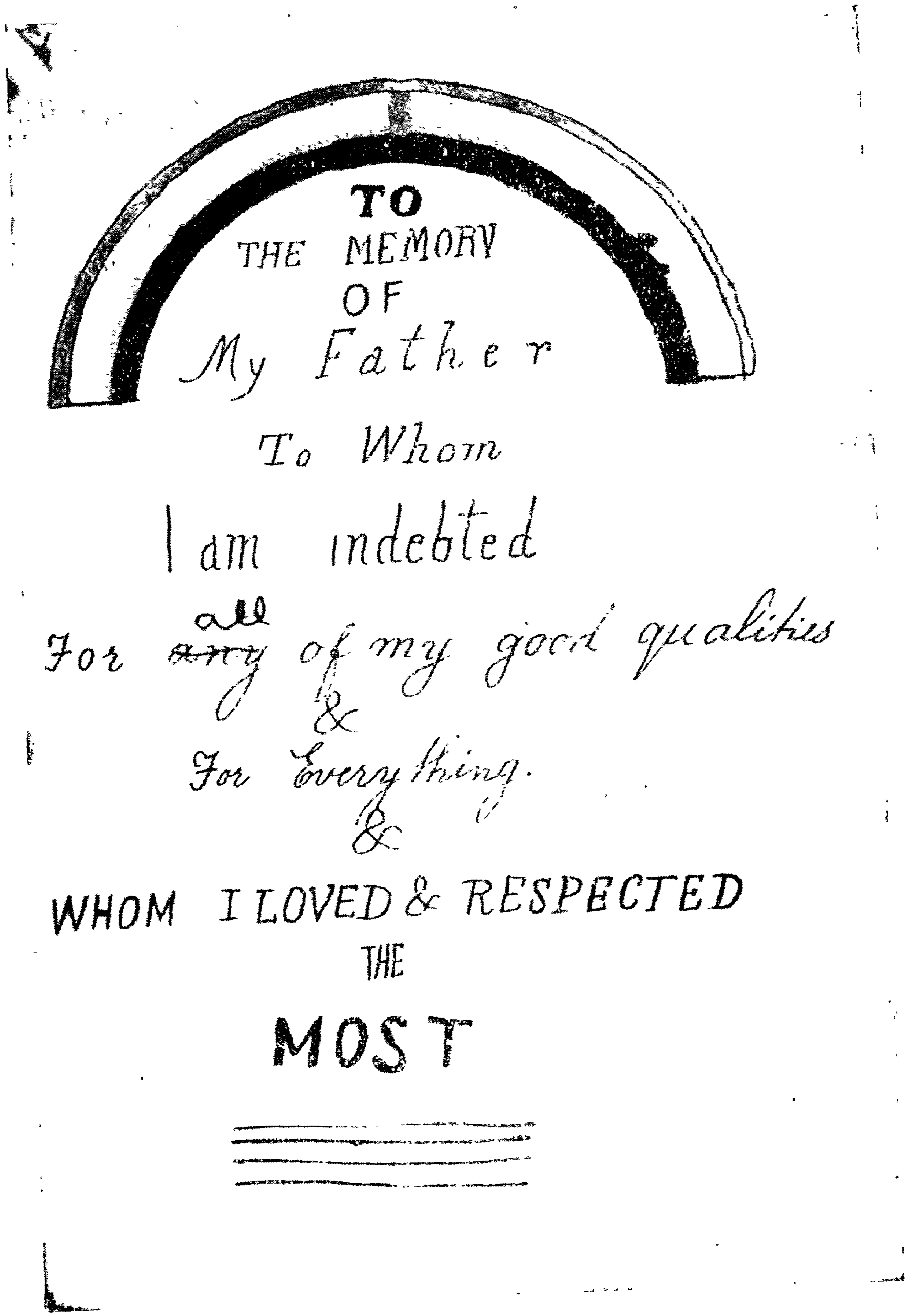
Illustrations

Father

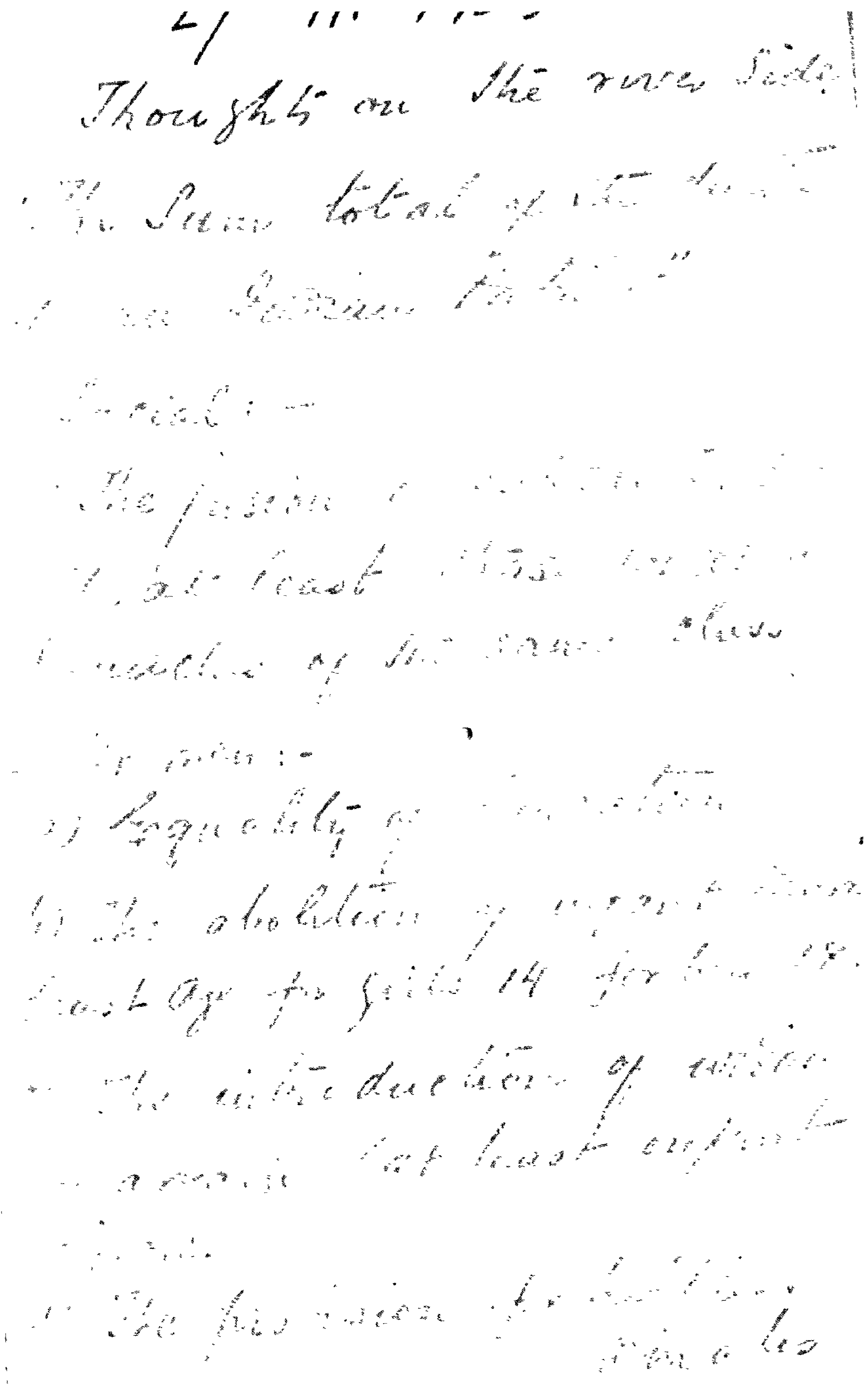
Mother

Munshi in 1893

Munshi in 1897


TO
THE MEMORV
OF
My Father
To Whom
I am indebted
For ~~any~~ all of my good qualities
&
For Everything.
&
WHOM I LOVED & RESPECTED
THE
MOST

Title page of
Munshi's Diary,
1903


Thoughts on the river Side

The Sum total of [illegible]

Social:-

The passion [illegible]

at least [illegible]

[illegible] of the same class

[illegible] Equality of [illegible]

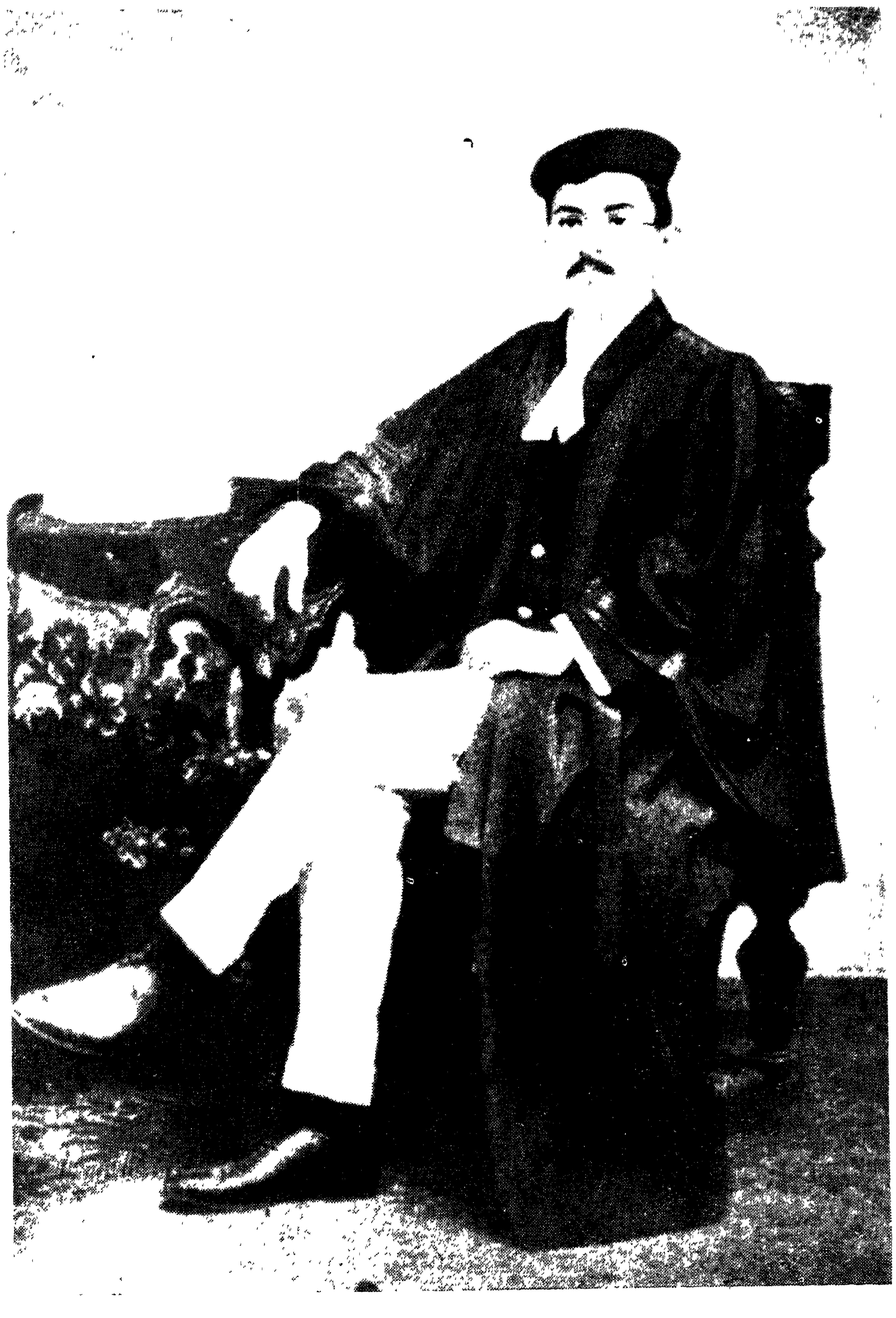
The abolition of [illegible]

[illegible] Age for girls 14 for boys 18

The introduction of [illegible]

[illegible] at least [illegible]

A page from
Munshi's Diary,
1905

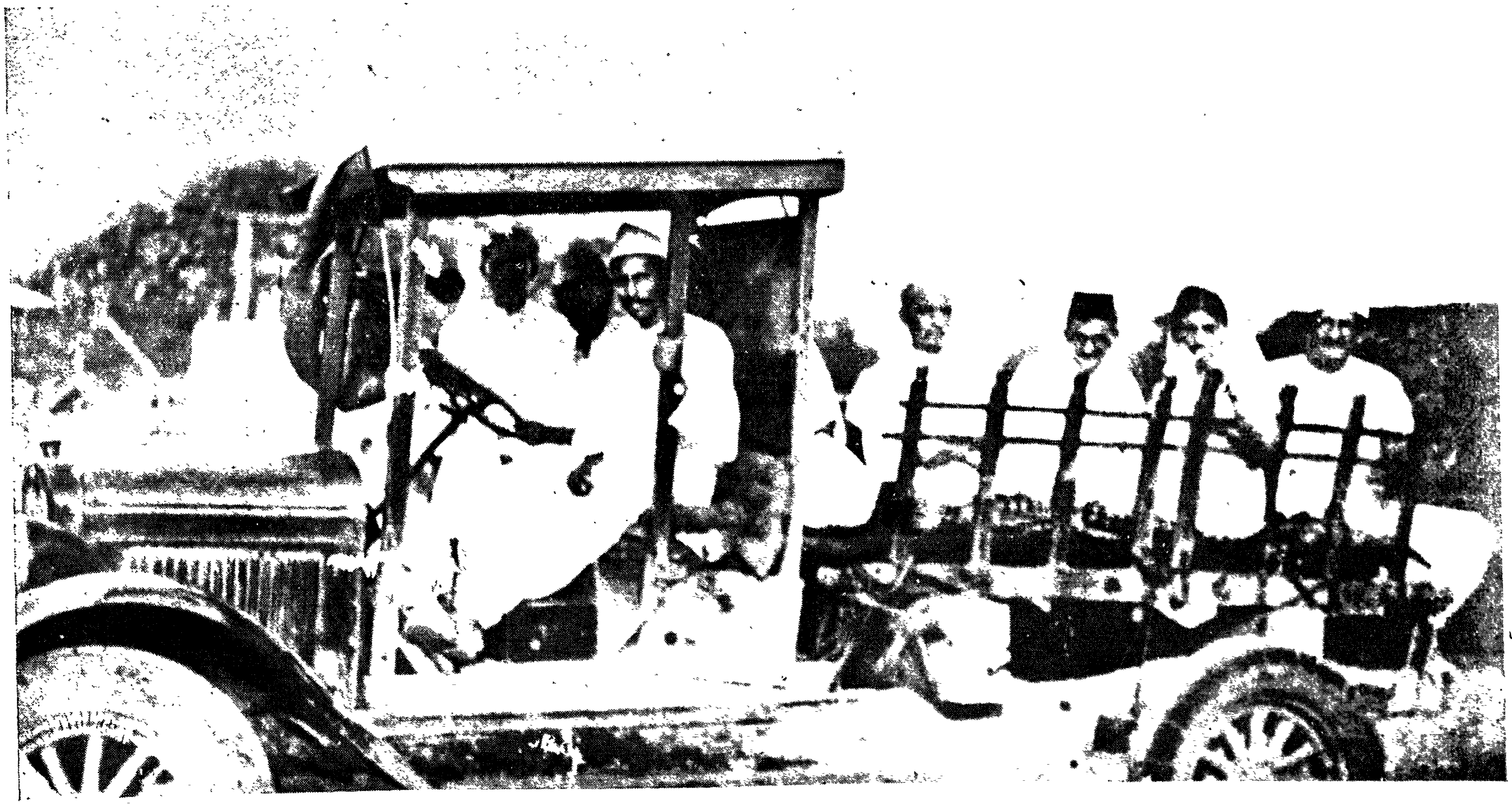


Munshi enrolled as Advocate, Bombay High Court, 15th March 1913

Atilaxmi, 1921

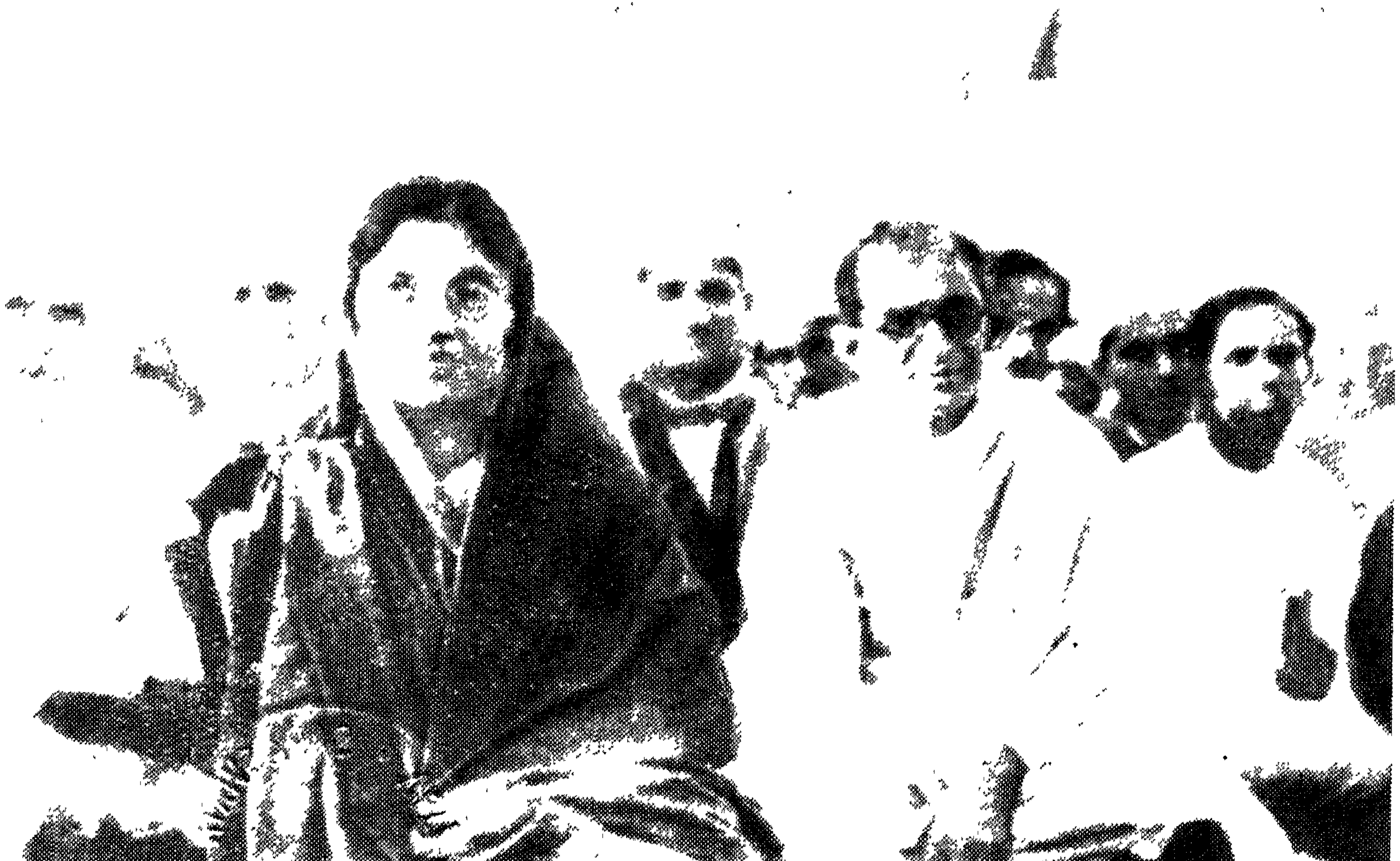
Lilavati, 1922

Munshi in 1922

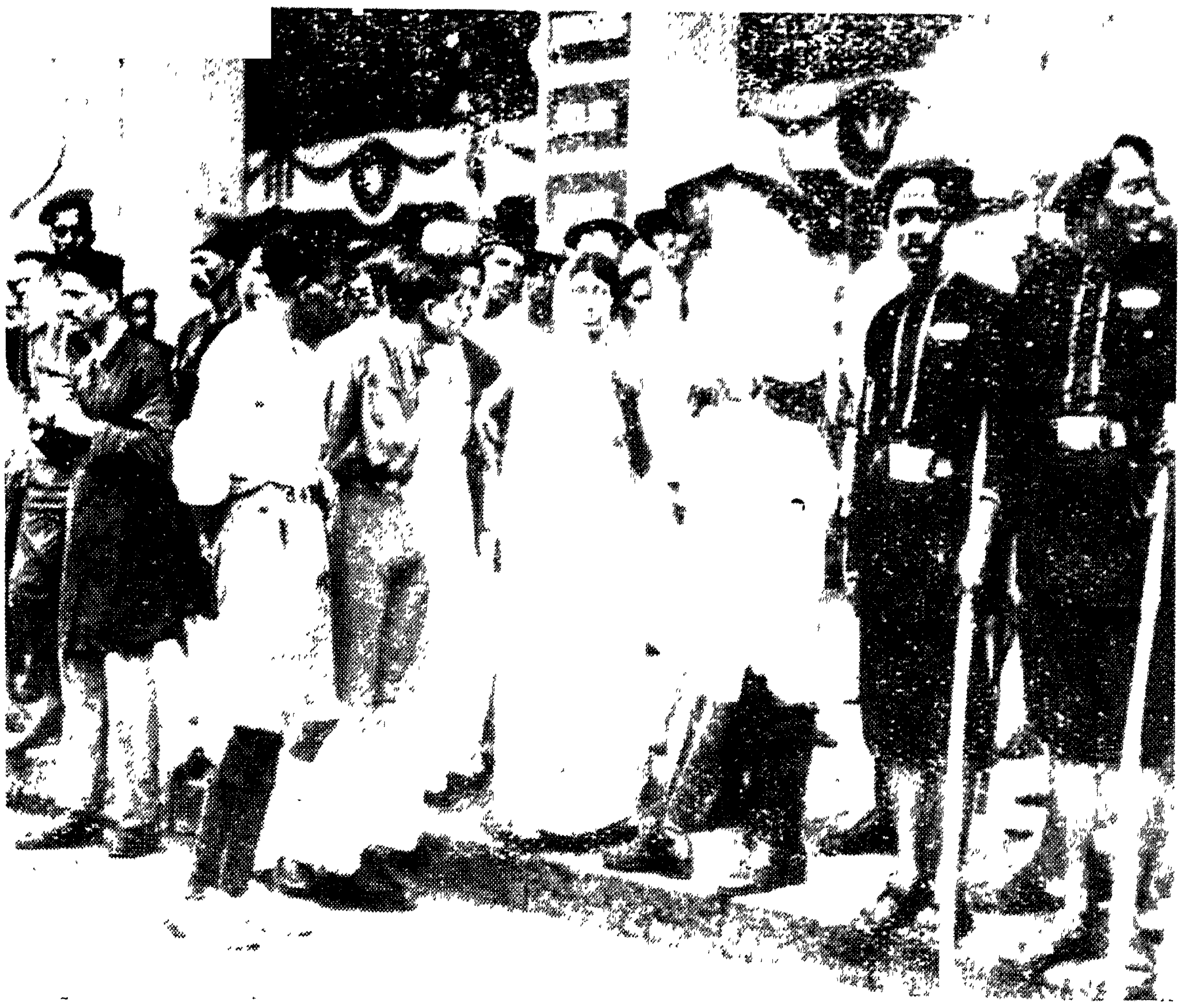


Sardar Patel, Munshi and Lilavati touring Bardoli during the Satyagraha of 1928

Munshi and Lilavati, 1923

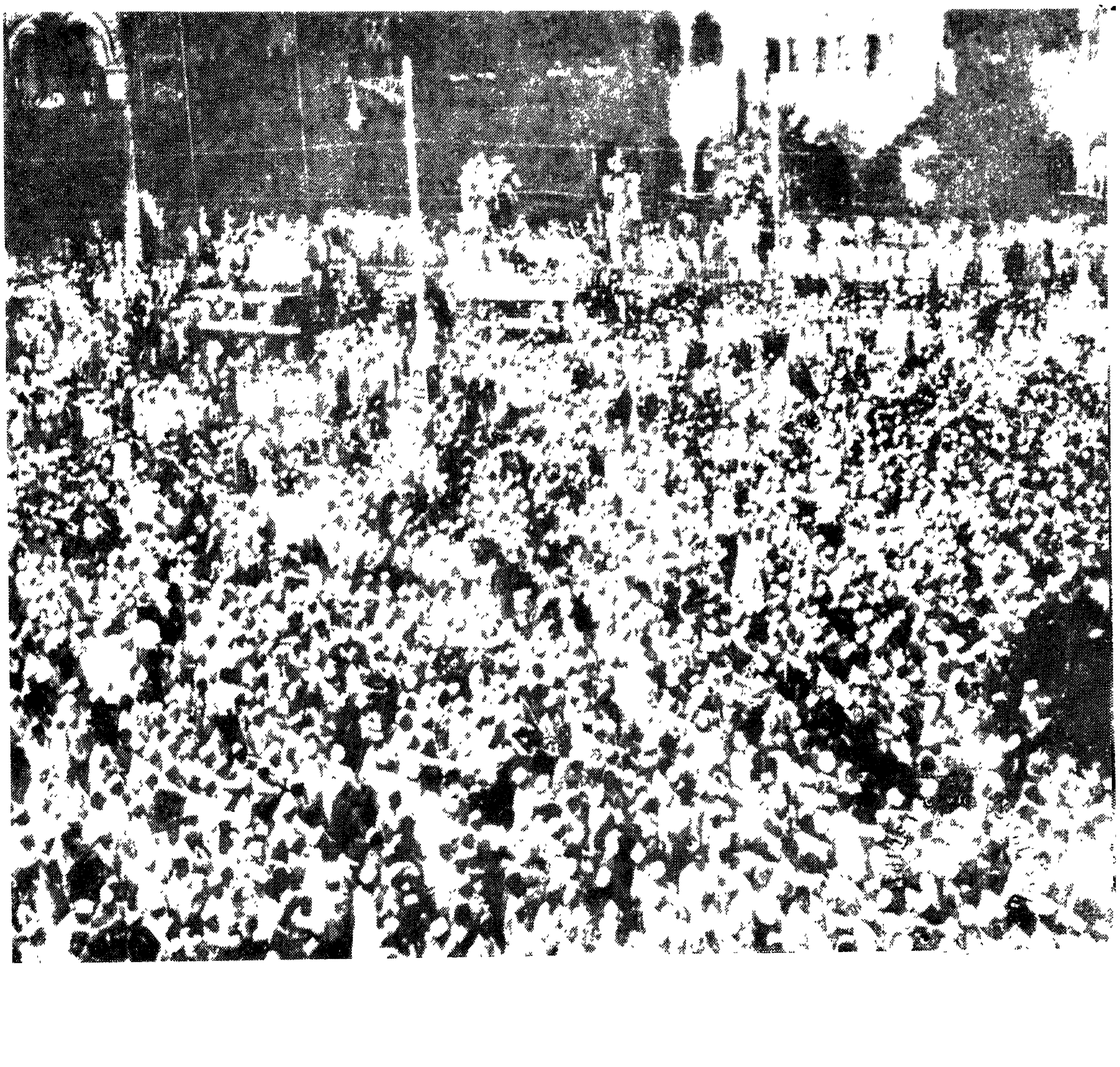


Munshi addressing Satyagraha Meeting, 1930

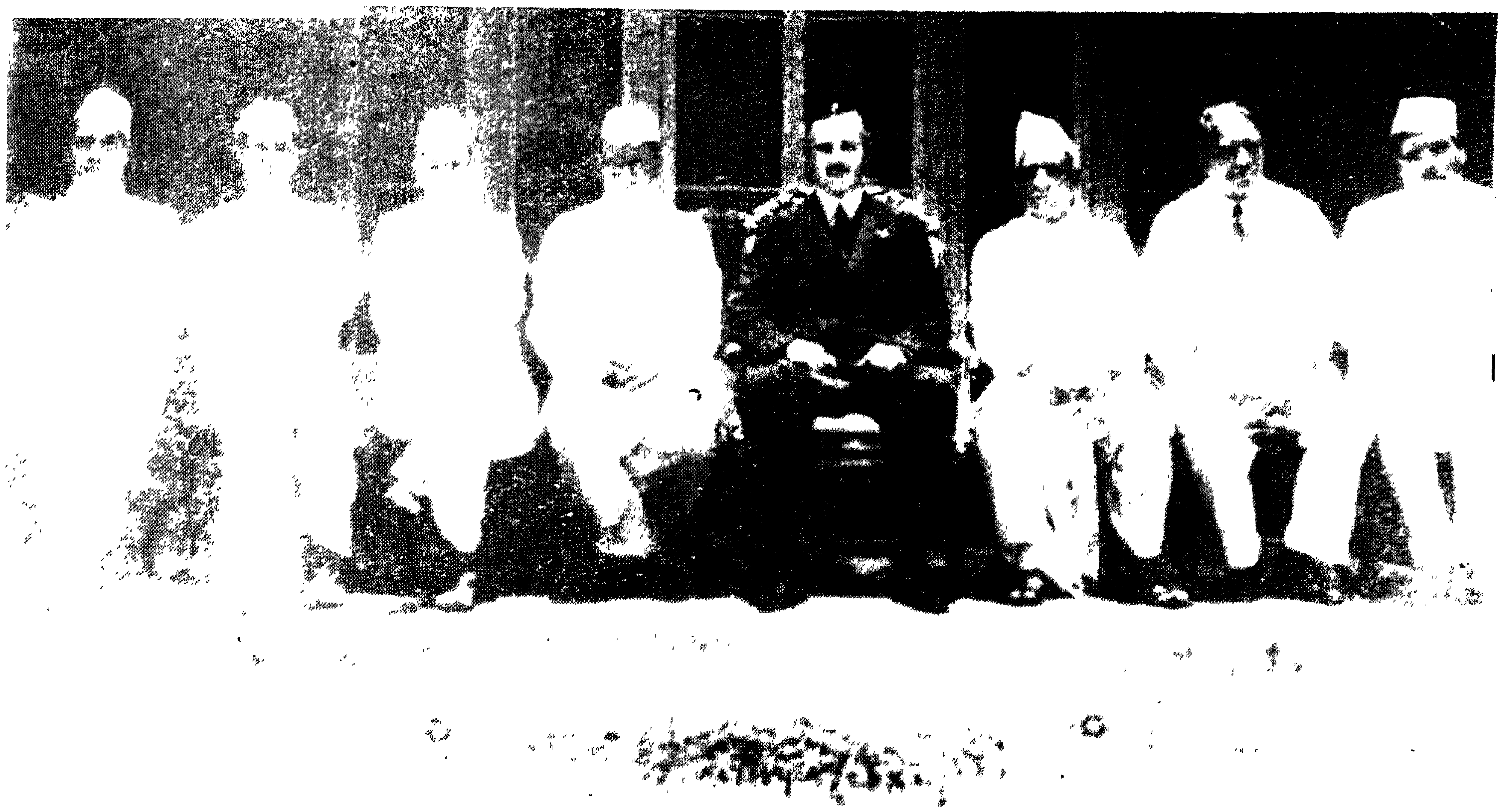


Lilavati arrested while picketting, 1930

Munshi addressing a Congress Meeting at Azad Maidan, 1931



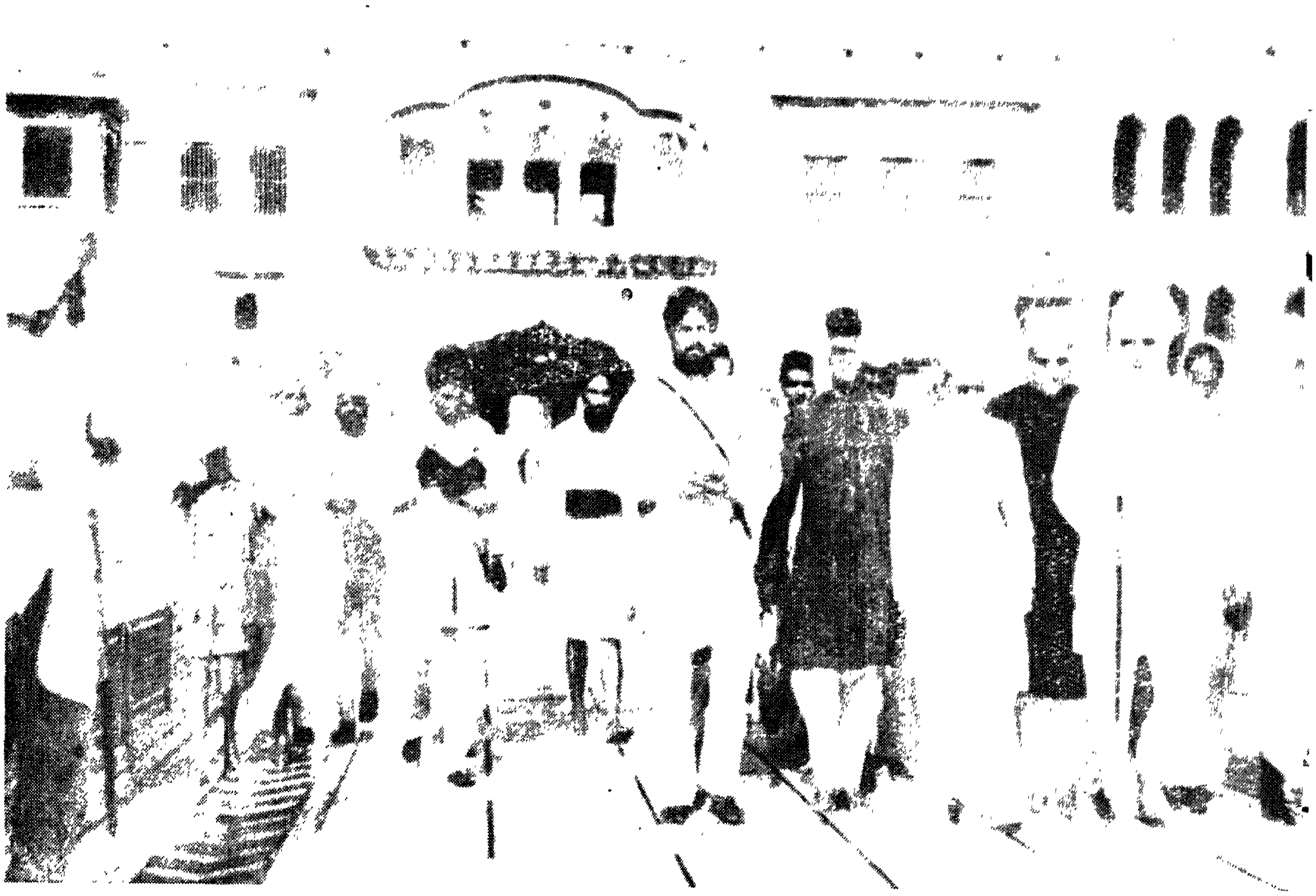
Gandhiji, Rameshwardas Birla, Sardar Patel, Munshi and others at Juhu, 1933



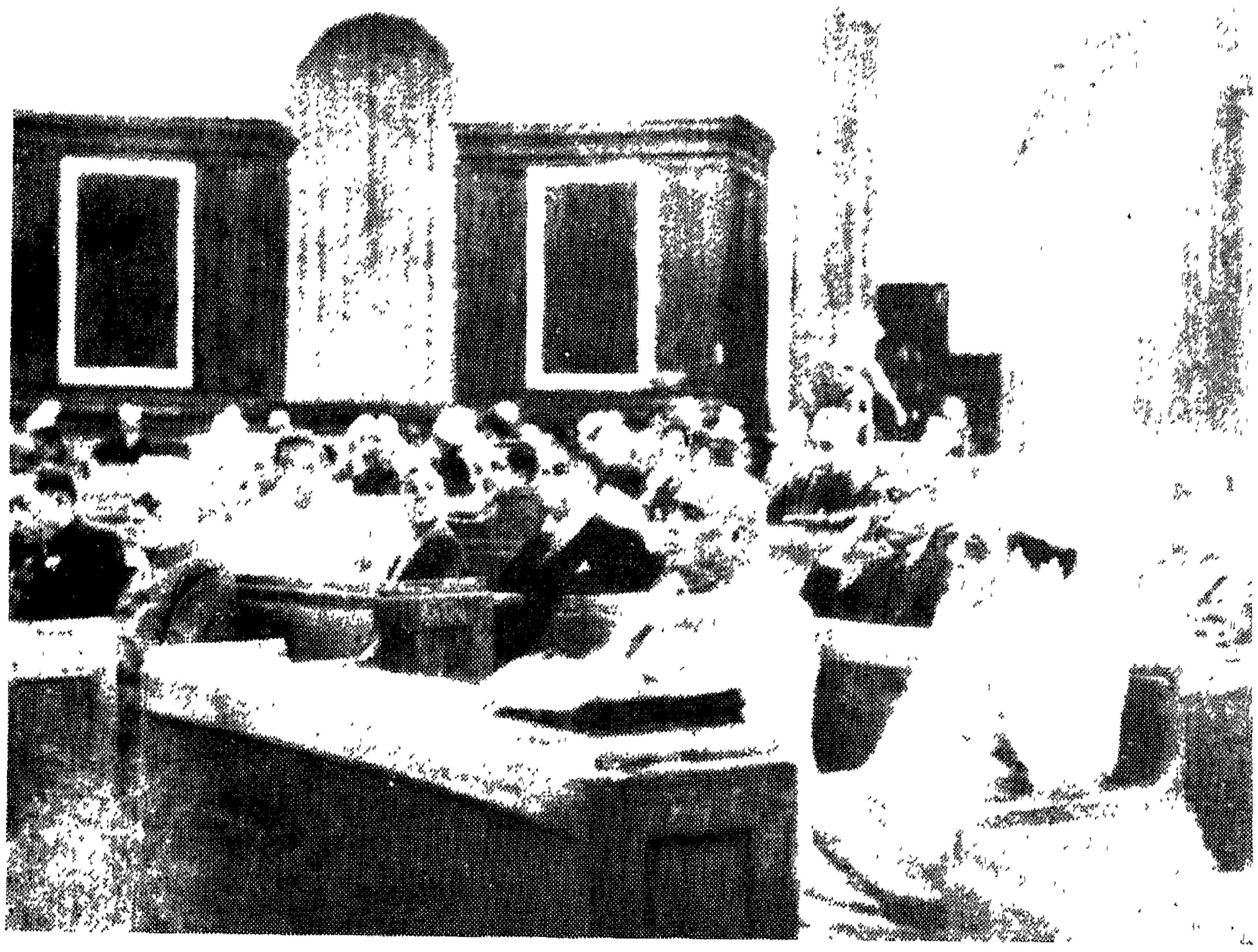
First Congress Ministry of Bombay Province, 1937 (Munshi 3rd from left)

Munshi visiting Sahasraling, during the Gujarat Sahitya Parishad, 1939

Munshi after his son Girish's thread-ceremony, 1940

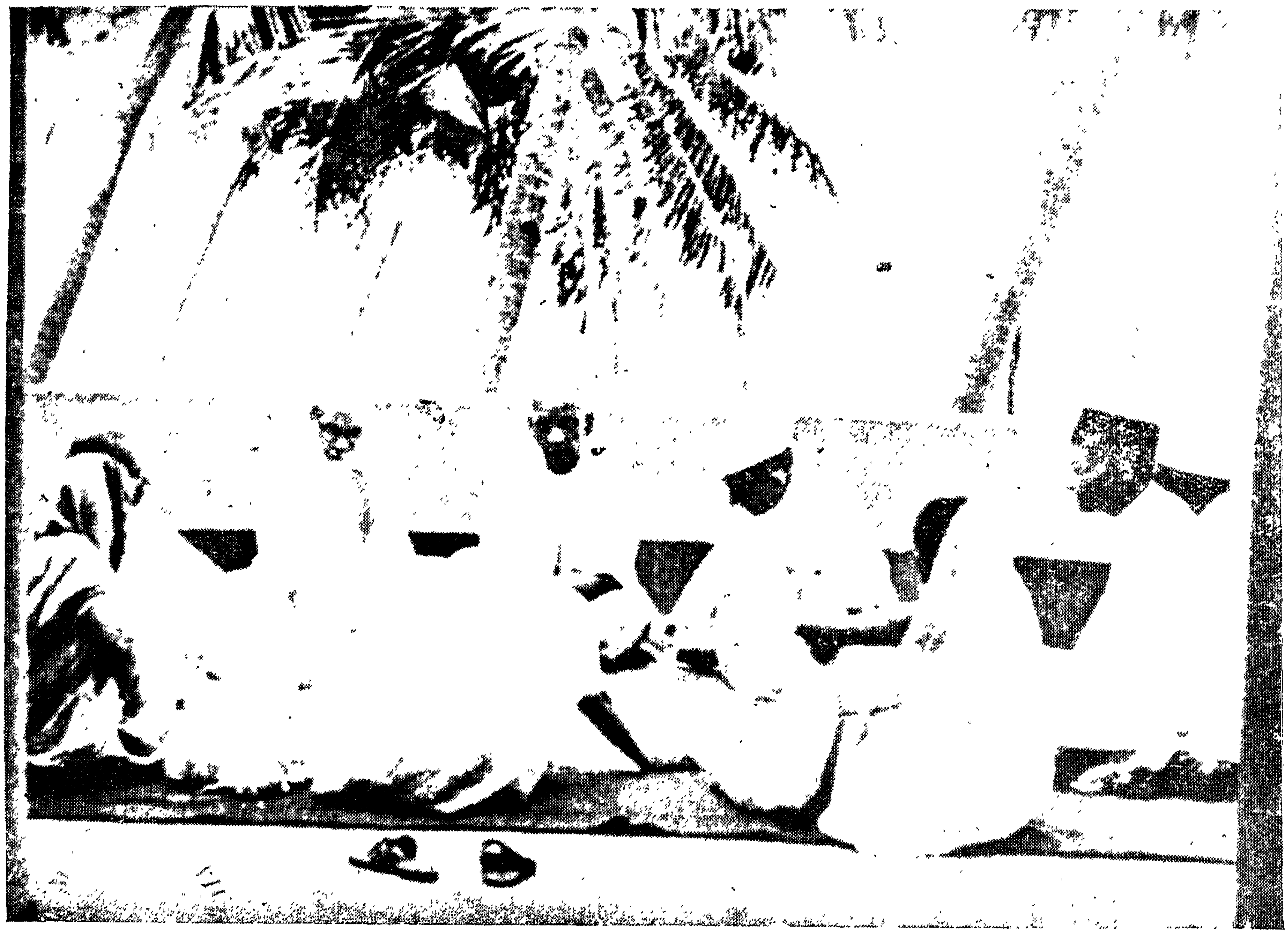


Munshi at the Golden Temple, Amritsar, at the time of the Akhand Hindustan Campaign, 1942



Munshi at the inaugural session of the Constituent Assembly, December 1946

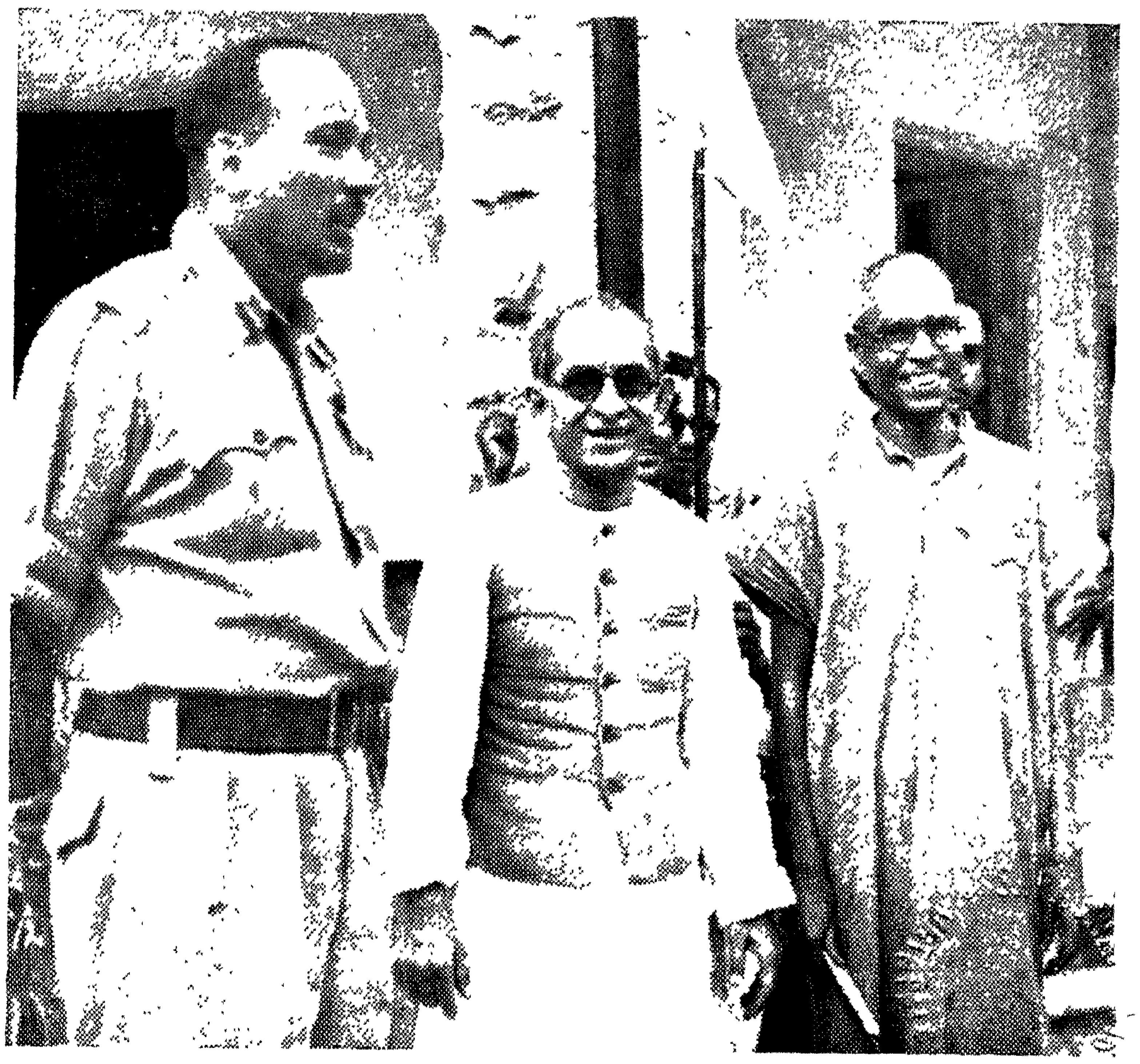
Munshi performing the Khat Muhurt *of Bhavan's Central Home, 1947*



Munshi and Lilavati having discussions with Gandhiji, at Juhu, 1947

Munshi, on arrival at Hakimpet Airport, to take up the Office of India's Agent-General in Hyderabad, January, 1948

Munshi with Major General Chowdhury and Swami Ramanand Tirtha after Police Action, Hyderabad, September, 1948.



With Governor-General C. Rajagopalachari at the opening of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's Central Home, Bombay, 1949

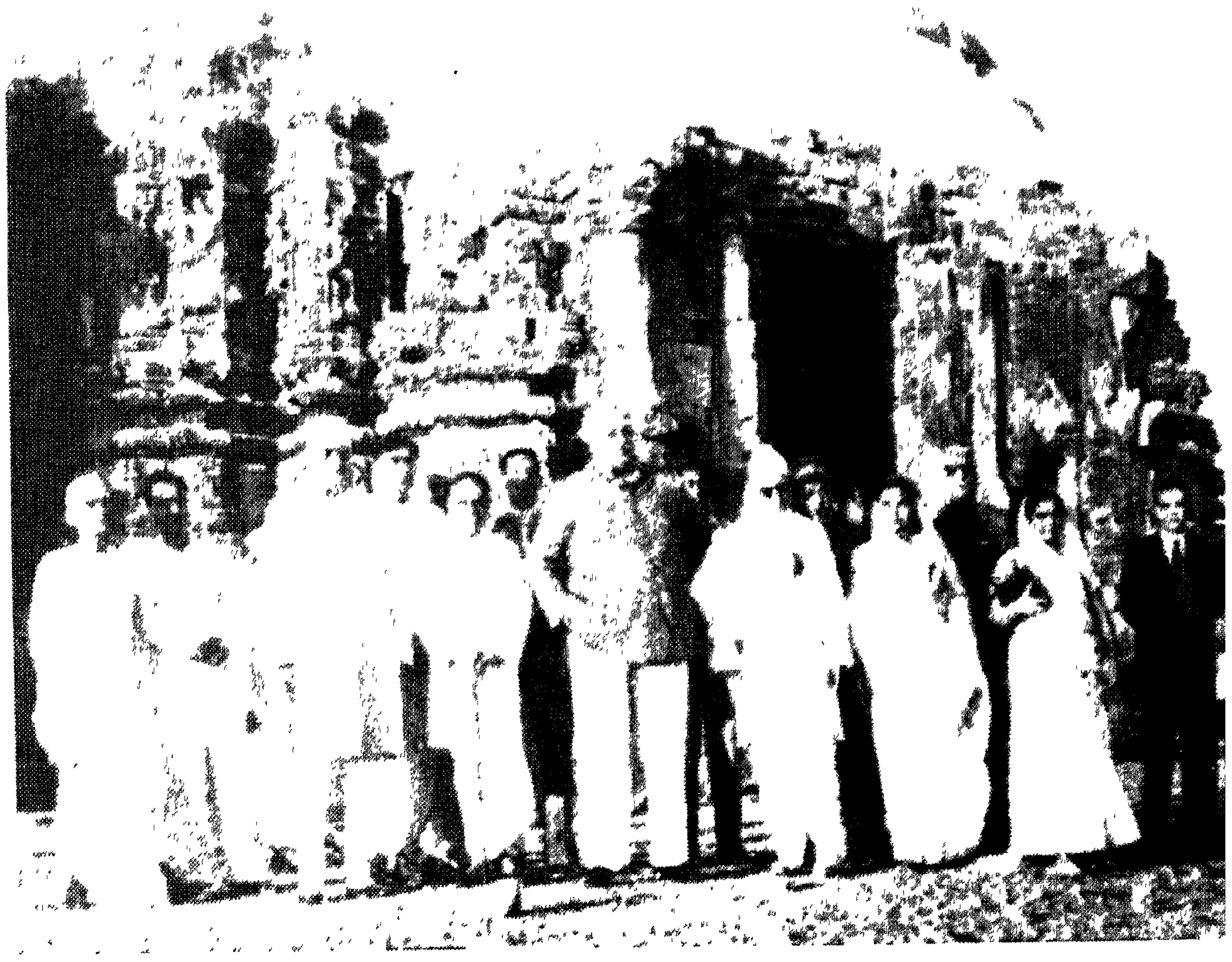
Munshi being sworn in as Union Minister for Food & Agriculture, 1950

With President Rajendra Prasad at the inauguration of Vana Mahotsava, New Delhi, 1950

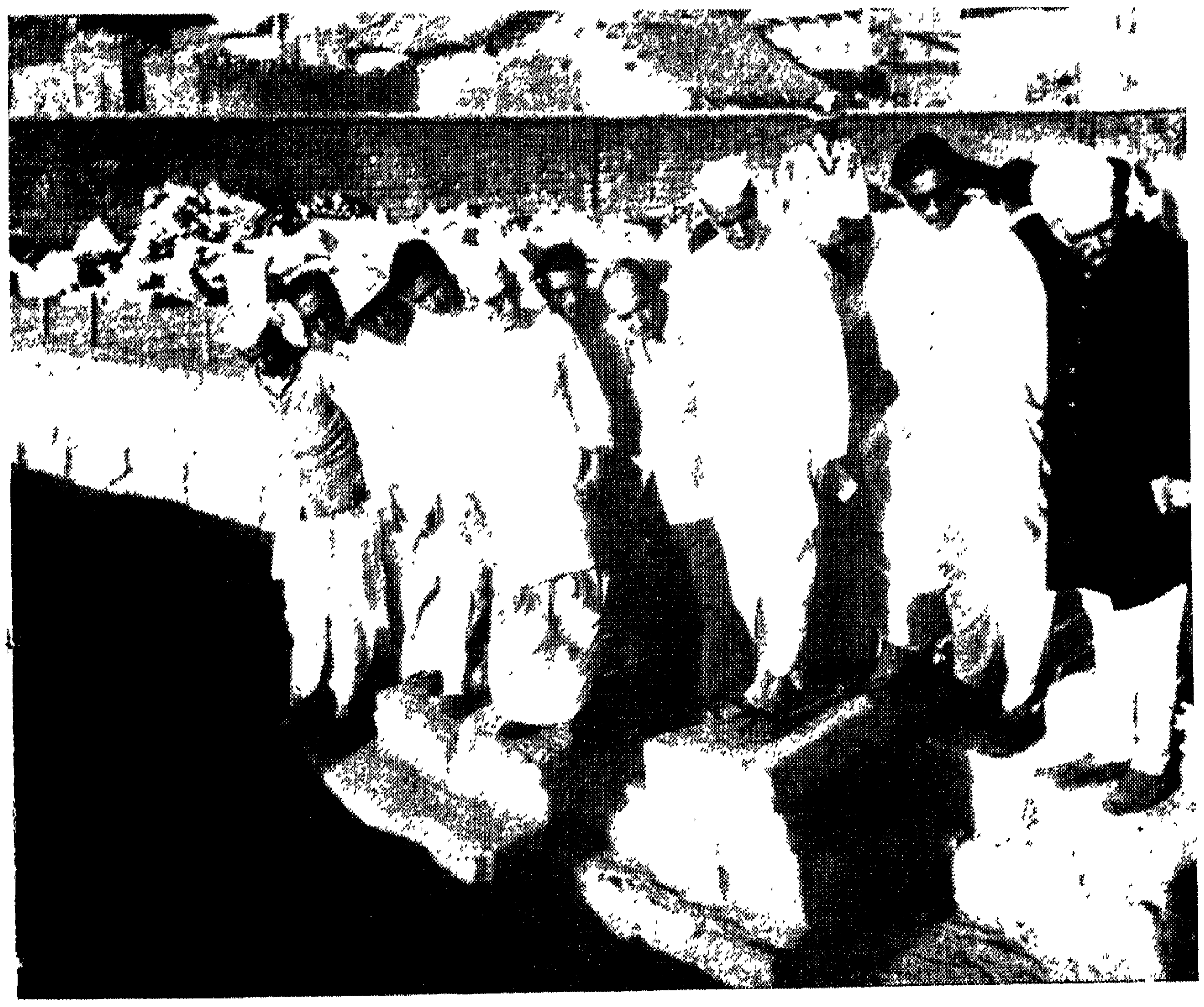
Leader of the Indian Delegation to the F.A.O. Conference of the U.N., Rome, 1951

Munshi and Charles S. Brannew, U.S. Secretary for Agriculture, Rome, 1951

On the front Treasury Bench, Parliament (R to L)—*Pandit Nehru, C. Rajagopalachari, R. R. Diwakar, Jagjivan Ram, Munshi and N. V. Gadgil, 1951*



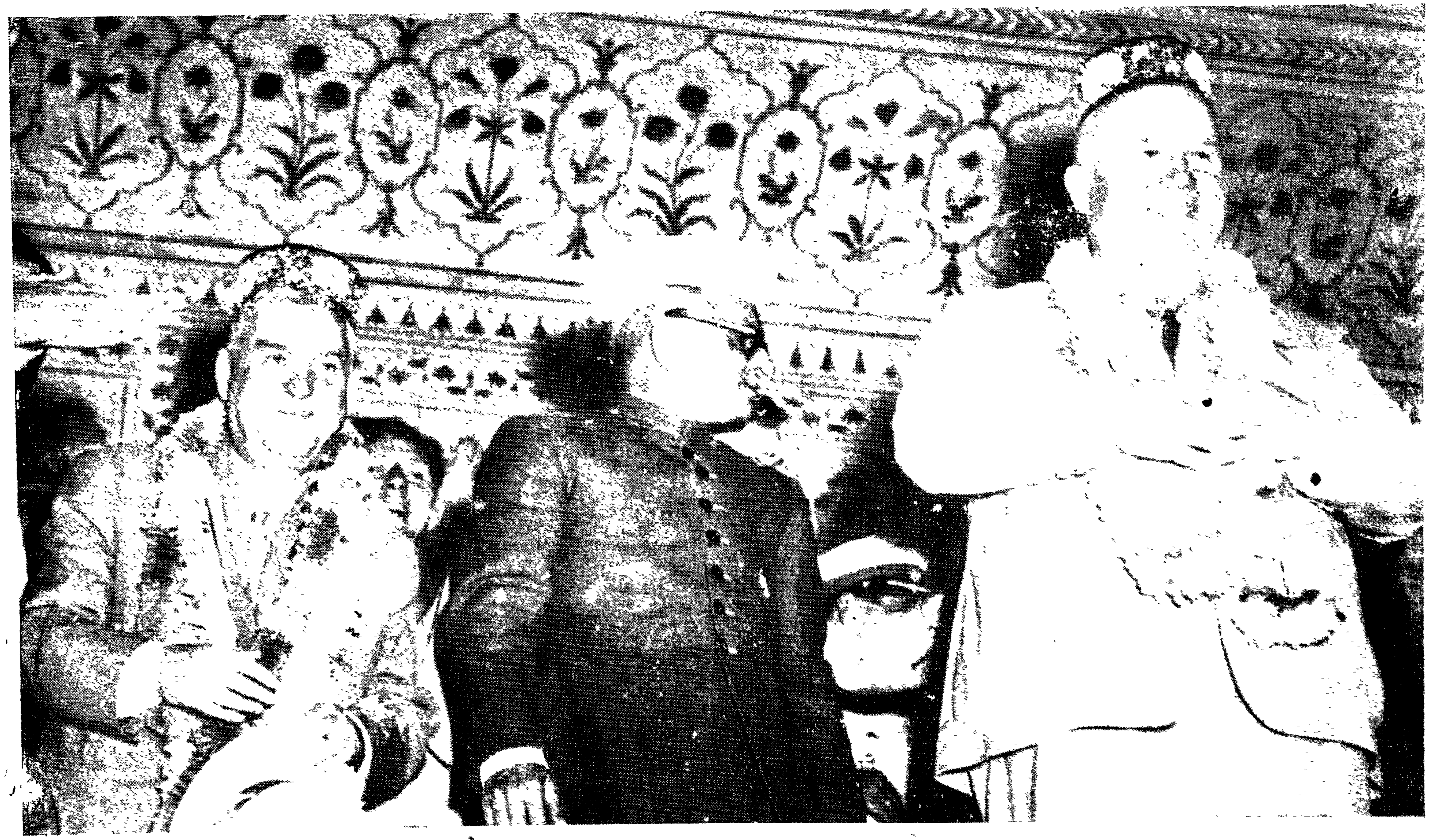
Munshi, Jam Saheb, Lilavati and others at Somnath, 1951



Munshi explaining to Dhebar the chronology of different Somanath Temples, 1951

Munshi and Jawaharlal Nehru, Science Congress, Lucknow, 1952

Jawaharlal Nehru, G. B. Pant and Munshi at a party, in Lucknow, 1954



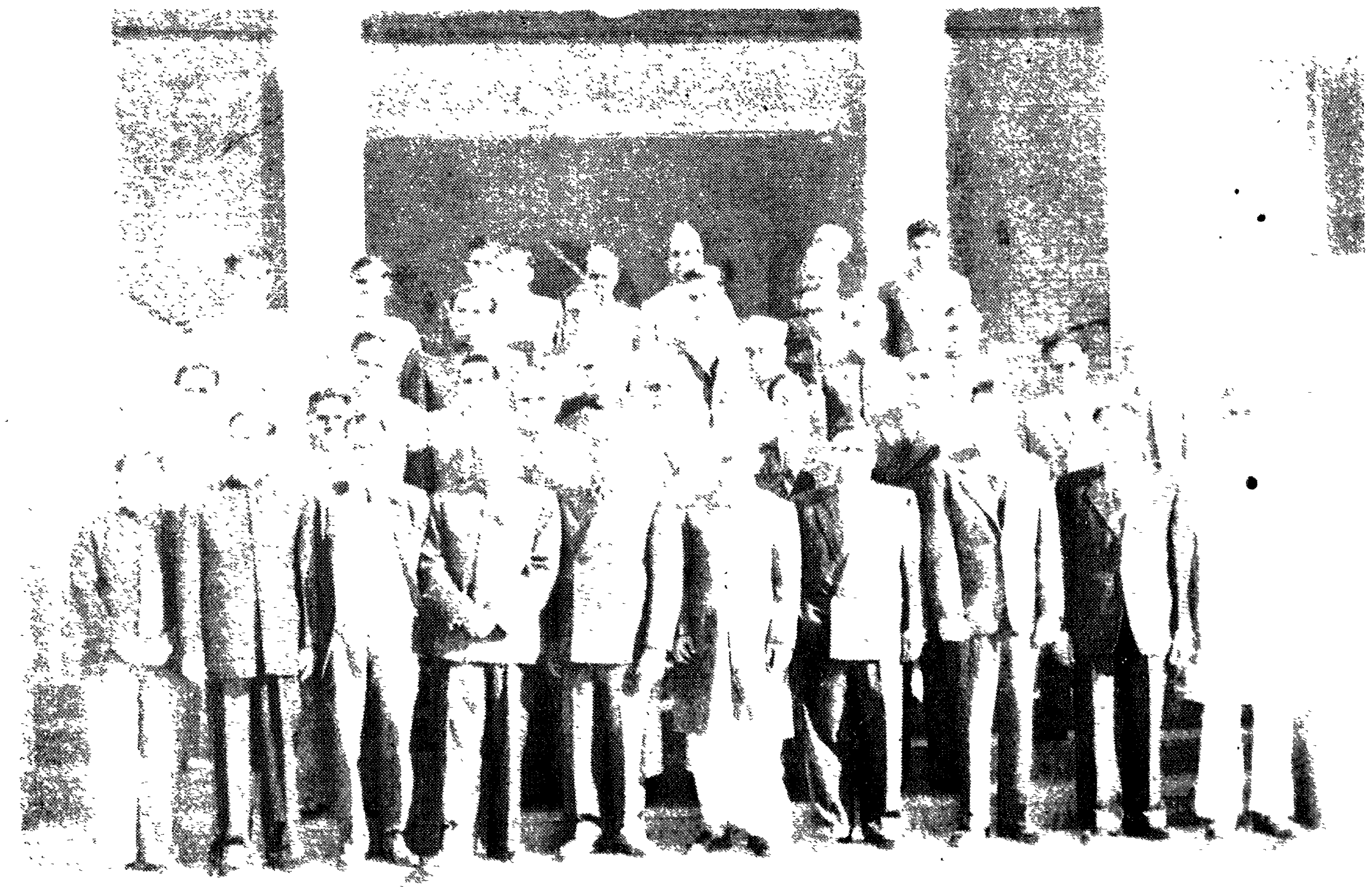
Munshi with Marshal Bulganin and Nikita Khruschev, Agra, 1955

Munshi at 70 (1957)

Munshi with Sri Jawaharlal Nehru at the inauguration of Bhavan's Delhi Home, 1957

Munshis in New York, 1958

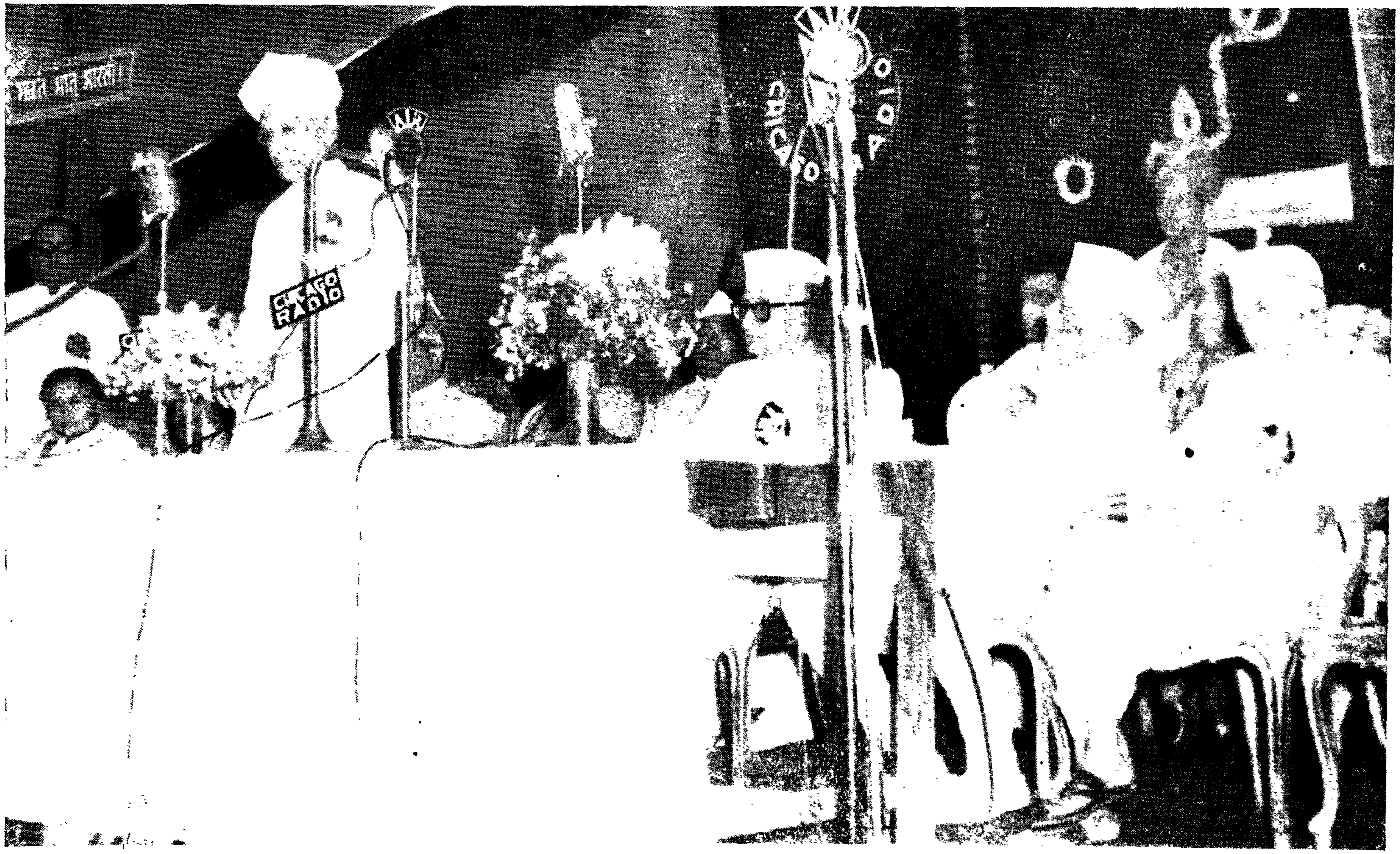
Munshis at the German Refugees' Camp, West Germany, 1958



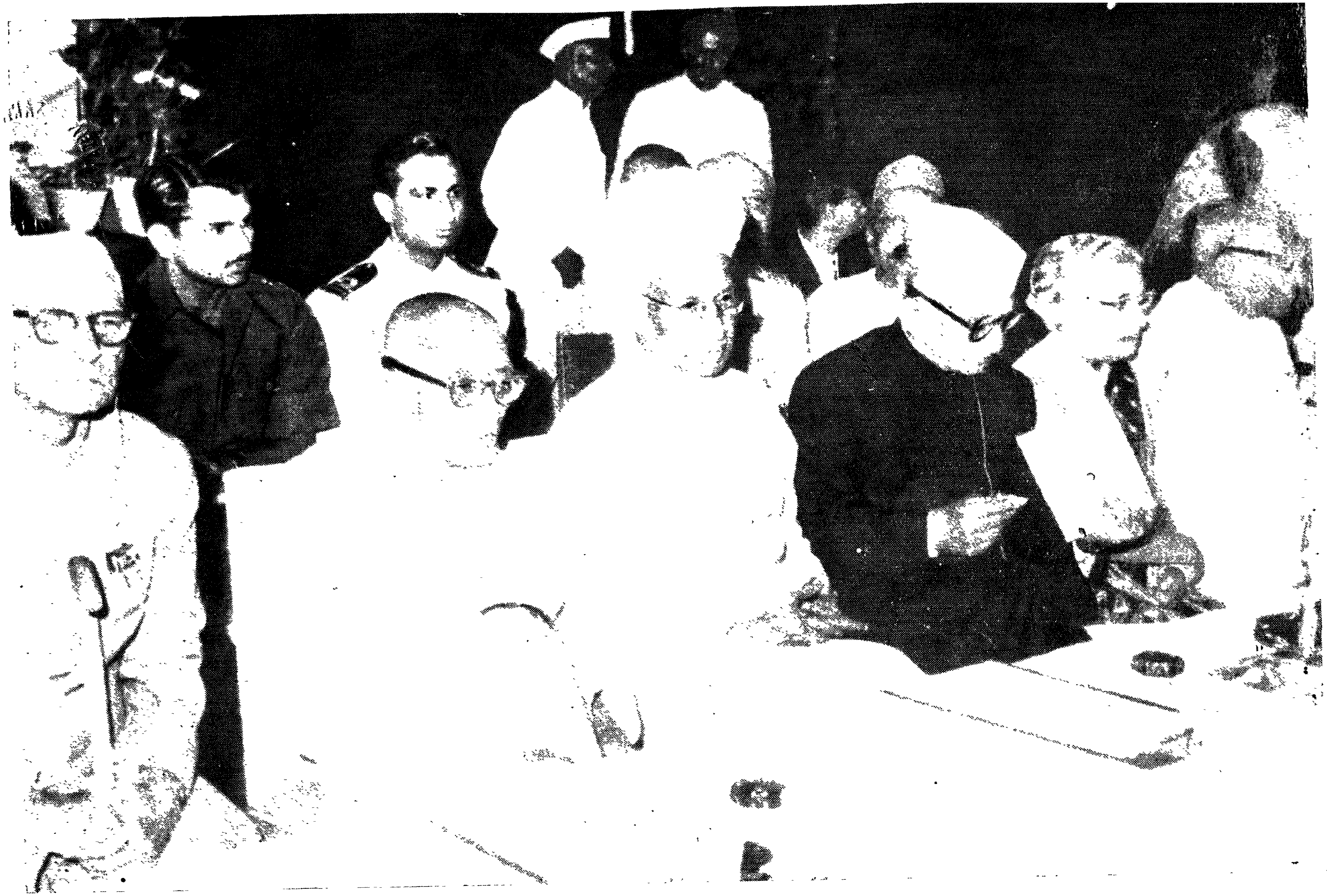
Munshi at the Seminar of Indian Law Institute, 1958

Munshi, at the inauguration of the Indian Law Institute, by Dr Rajendra Prasad, 1958

Munshi, at the inauguration of the B.A. Agricultural College, Institute of Agriculture, Anand



Munshi at the inauguration of the Decennial Celebrations of the Sanskrit Vishva Parishad, by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Bhavan's Campus, Andheri, 1961



Munshi at the inauguration of the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan by President Radhakrishnan, Bombay, December 20, 1962